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Underground Nuclear Test Carried Out 8 May

LD0805001688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0001 GMT 8 May 88

[Text] [No dateline as received]—An underground nuclear explosion with a yield of between 20 and 150 kilotonnes was carried out in the Soviet Union in the area of the Novaya Zemlya islands at 0250 Moscow time on 8 May 1988.

The above test was carried out with the aim of perfecting military technology.

Akhromeyev on INF Treaty, NATO-Pact Balance

LD0905083888 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 9 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 9 TASS—"Firmly following the Leninist course of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union seeks to reduce international tension and to prevent a new war. Acting in the spirit of the new thinking, we persistently press for an end to the arms race", stated Sergey Akhromeyev, first deputy minister of defence, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, appearing on Soviet television today. His speech was timed for the holiday of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945.

Marshal Akhromeyev referred to the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty as a major event of our times. The treaty opened the way for talks, which are now in progress, on reducing strategic offensive arms by 50 per cent with the compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. A prospect is opening up for talks on a substantial reduction in the armed forces and armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals.

There is an approximate parity in the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation now, Sergey Akhromeyev went on to say. This is confirmed by many authoritative Western spokesmen.

"To tell the truth, we have more tanks but NATO has advantage in the number of strike aircraft of tactical aviation, in combat helicopters and anti-tank systems", the Soviet military leader said.

"The Soviet Union", he went on to say, "stated its readiness to agree to the elimination of the existing disbalances. However, they do not agree to eliminate those types of weapons in which they have advantage. It is clear that with such an approach the problem cannot be solved. If the United States and other NATO countries are really concerned for the destiny of peace, they should confirm this by practical deeds and firmly embark upon the road of real disarmament", Sergey Akhromeyev emphasized.

U.S. Blamed for START Treaty Holdups

PM0605143588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer M. Ponomarev response to reader's letter under the rubric: "International Observer Answers Reader": "We Will Not Hold Things Up"]

[Text] Major G. Shkurko has written to the editorial office. In his letter he asks:

"I remember during the Washington meeting, M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan agreed that the drafting of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms should be completed in the near future so that it could be signed during the U.S. President's return visit to Moscow. Less than a month remains until this visit begins and there is still no treaty. Furthermore, I have read in the newspapers a statement by Shultz that work on this treaty will have to be continued by the new President who, as is well known, will be taking up his post in January 1989. What's going on? How is it possible that an accord secured at the very highest level is not being implemented?"

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer M. Ponomarev answers Maj G. Shkurko:

To be precise, Georgiy Vladimirovich, what was said in Washington referred to "endeavoring to complete" the draft of a treaty on the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive arms "in the shortest possible time" and sign it during the next meeting between the USSR and U.S. leaders in the first half of 1988. So, you see, there were no outright pledges made on this score. The joint statement only talked about the desirability of the speediest preparation of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. But you are right in saying that the public, which has taken a keen interest in this reduction, regarded the Washington accord as a clear expression of the sides' determination to finish work on this treaty by the start of R. Reagan's visit to Moscow.

They indisputably had cause for confidence on this score. It is not only a matter of the world public's desire to reduce and ultimately eliminate nuclear arms and get rid of the threat of nuclear war. Objective preconditions were created at the Washington meeting last December for the rapid completion of drafting work on the treaty on strategic offensive arms and many obstacles have been removed which cropped up in the course of the Soviet-U.S. Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms. Both countries' delegations at these talks received coordinated directives to be used as the basis for preparing a treaty on reducing and limiting strategic offensive arms while observing the ABM Treaty and not withdrawing from it for an agreed period.

Washington has added many new elements to the previous accords to reduce USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms by 50 percent and set a ceiling on them not in excess of 1,600 strategic delivery vehicles and 6,000 nuclear charges for each side and also sublevels for heavy missiles following the rules for counting heavy bombers. I am referring to the development of the problem [razvitiye problemy] of limiting nuclear-tipped sea-launched cruise missiles and, in particular, the verification of such limitations. On the whole verification questions for the entire series of strategic offensive arms limitation and reduction have been elaborated in extremely great detail and the preparation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles played an important role here. Great significance is attached to the establishment of a ceiling of 4,900 units on the total number of ICBM and SLBM warheads within the framework of the total of 6,000 warheads. Lastly, the delegations in Geneva were tasked with elaborating an accord which would compel both the Soviet and the U.S. side to observe the ABM Treaty as it was signed in 1972 and not withdraw from it for an agreed period.

All this, I repeat, created a sound foundation for the successful completion of a draft treaty on strategic offensive arms. Almost 5 months have elapsed since then and mere weeks remain until Reagan's visit to Moscow. What has been done in this time?

Indisputably definite progress has been made at the talks in Geneva. There are already drafts for the text of the treaty itself, a protocol on inspections, a protocol on converting or eliminating strategic offensive arms, and a memorandum of understanding. Admittedly, these documents are still not yet ready to be signed. They contain approximately 1,200 items pending, to use the specific language in which those involved in the talks refer to wording and details which have not been agreed.

Half of these items pending are of a technical nature and can be sorted out with relative ease. But half are linked with fundamental elements. The first relates to long-range sea-launched cruise missiles. Whatever the specific proposals put forward by the Soviet Union to limit long-range sea-launched cruise missiles and verify these limitations, the United States only voices doubts and makes no counterproposals. The second element concerns air-launched cruise missiles. All the U.S. side's arguments on this subject are ultimately geared to the United States retaining its fleet of hundreds of heavy bombers which, however they are counted and limited, could be turned into nuclear delivery vehicles in a short time.

Problems linked with limiting mobile intercontinental missiles have not been resolved either, although definite positive changes have occurred here recently. There has also been a definite closing of the gap on verification questions, which for a long time were also a stumbling block at the talks. But the knot relating to nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty for an agreed period has not been untangled and there is not even a joint text for a draft agreement on this subject.

What is going on here? Everything continues to hinge on the United States' desire to keep outer space open for SDI and its refusal to set limits for air- and, especially, sea-launched cruise missiles. It might have been expected that solutions to the series of questions slowing down the talks in Geneva would be found during Secretary of State G. Shultz' recent visit to Moscow. But these expectations were not fully justified. The U.S side did not put forward any constructive ideas on the series of key questions.

The U.S. Administration is trying to cover up its stance with a strange blend of optimism and pessimism. You, Georgiy Vladimirovich, correctly drew attention to Shultz' statement regarding the prospects for an accord on strategic offensive arms. Here is another example. M. Fitzwater, assistant to the President for press relations, recently gave vent to the following tirade without pausing for breath: "By and large we still have hopes, hopes of signing a treaty on strategic offensive arms. We are still full of hope and this is our goal... But I believe that we must be pessimistic in assessing the possibilities of signing a treaty at the Moscow summit."

The notorious "but." This can conceal anything you like. Yet it is obvious that the preparation of the treaty is now wholly dependent on the U.S. side. The USSR's position is well enough known. It was confirmed once again at a session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo during the discussion of the results of M.S. Gorbachev's conversation and E.A. Shevardnadze's talks with Secretary of State G. Shultz at the end of April. This stressed that the Soviet leadership is prepared to make the necessary effort to ensure that the Moscow summit is marked by specific major results.

The Soviet Union has never held things up. Particularly now, when the new thinking has become the pivot of the USSR's foreign policy. This was proved by our country's efforts in connection with the preparation and signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This was proved by the successful completion of the talks and the signing of the Geneva agreement on a political settlement regarding Afghanistan. This is proved by the Soviet side's determination to secure the completion of work on a treaty for a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms in the shortest possible time while observing the ABM Treaty as it was signed in 1972.

'Military Expert' Batenin on Taft Talks

LD0505090588 Moscow TASS in English
0803 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—In the run-up to important decisions in the field of reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe the United States would like to rebuild the technological base of the NATO Armed Forces to reinforce their potential and, by the way, to do it at the expense of its allies in the North Atlantic bloc, General Geliy Batenin, a military expert of the CPSU Central Committee, said in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

Commenting on the talks being conducted these days by William Taft, first deputy secretary of defence, in Brussels, Amsterdam, London and in other West European capitals, the Soviet military expert emphasized that "the U.S. emissary was engaged in making the so-called European defence structures fit U.S. military concepts".

"Foreseeing the reductions which are to take place in the U.S. nuclear missile arsenal as a result of the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, in Washington they are eager to prepare the ground for developing fundamentally new systems of non-nuclear armaments. And, certainly, they would wish the United States allies in NATO to pay for this", Geliy Batenin noted.

NATO 'Ocean Gate' Maneuvers Begin 4 May

LD0505094588 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Madrid May 5 TASS—The NATO military manoeuvres, codenamed Ocean Gate'88, started in the Strait of Gibraltar on Wednesday. The two-stage exercise will involve the naval and air force of the USA, Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, West Germany, the Netherlands and Canada, says the EFE agency.

The exercise is held to check NATO's capabilities in defending the Strait of Gibraltar and approaches to it at the time of crisis.

Spain is not taking part in the manoeuvres, refusing to recognize the NATO military command in Gibraltar.

West's Anti-Soviet Propaganda Funding Deplored

PM0605153188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Apr 88 First Edition p 3

[S. Andreyev "Rejoinder": "Behind the Transparent Cloak of the Foundations"]

[Text] They have taken umbrage with us. VOA correspondent Ludmilla Flamm [name as published] conducted an interview with Yuriy Yarim-Agayev, who stated inter alia that, to his regret, his experience of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA "once again proves that, however much official publications may change for the better, they are still official publications and cannot take the place of a truly free press." Who is this Yarim-Agayev, and what is he burbling about?

This man heads a group of emigres mainly based in the United States and describing themselves as a rights-defense organization, "The Center for Democracy Support." He has taken umbrage with our newspaper because of the article "Werewolves Don't Like the Light," published in March, which talked about Aleksandr Podrabinek, his organization, the "Foundation for Assisting Political Prisoners," his libelous rag, EXPRESS CHRONICLE, and his ties with Western anti-Soviet centers.

These organizations are like two peas in a pod in terms of their aims, methods, and origins. They were both set up to mount anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns on the theme of human rights, and they both exist by virtue of foreign handouts. But Yarim-Agayev's chosen tactics are curious and involve accusing us of bias and vindicating Podrabinek and, consequently, himself.

To hear Yarim-Agayev, it is as if he and his emigre ilk living abroad and internal emigres are true allies in restructuring. The Soviet "official" press (apart from us, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and ZA RUBEZHOM have also been cited) is holding back restructuring. This plagiarism is nothing new in politics: An opponent lacking in ideas, or rather one who does not dare express them outright, often covers up with filched ideas. Many organizations, including those mentioned, whose only raison d'etre, apart from supporting their members, is to supply Western news media with the blackest of materials, are filching and exploiting restructuring slogans for their own ends. Readers will say that today our press is full of materials which they do not find amusing. True. But these articles are uplifting because things have changed in our country. However, it is in the interest of the aforementioned "centers" and "organizations" for things to stay as they were—for that is how they earn their crust.

But what Yarim-Agayev said about those who are calling his shots proved most revealing. "We receive our main funds from the National Foundation in Support of Democracy, which we consider an ideal foundation for our purposes." I couldn't have put it better myself. Such foundations are now being used to finance similar organizations. It became unfashionable 20 years ago to get funds from the CIA or other governmental departments. But "independent" foundations are supposedly another matter! But this money stinks, whoever the paymaster. It is payment for aid in anti-Soviet propaganda.

Leningrad Hosts Investment Bank Council Session

PM0505154388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Session of Bank Council"]

[Text] The 45th session of the International Investment Bank Council has taken place in Leningrad. Delegations from the bank's member countries took part in the session's work: Bulgaria, Hungary, the SRV, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR. Representatives of the CEMA Secretariat and the International Bank for Economic Cooperation were present.

A representative of the Federal Secretariat for Finances of the SFRY, which is taking part in the council session under an agreement between the International Investment Bank and the SFRY Government, was also in attendance, along with—as observers—representatives of the Angolan National Bank, the "Da Afghanistan Bank," the Indian State Bank, the Bank of Yemen, the State Bank of Laos, the Bank of Mozambique, the African Development Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Northern Investment Bank, and the Bank of Finland.

H. Rodrigues Llompart, head of the Cuban delegation and president of the National Bank of Cuba, chaired the council session.

The International Investment Bank examined the board's information on the fulfillment of measures for credit assistance for the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 and the bank's involvement in restructuring the mechanism for economic cooperation linked with the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 43d (extraordinary) sitting of the CEMA session, ratified the report on the International Investment Bank's activity for 1987 and the bank's balance on 1 January 1988, and took decisions on distributing 1987 profit and credit for new projects.

The council session was held in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and businesslike cooperation.

'International Observers Roundtable'

LD0805205088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 8 May 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign affairs commentator, Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, international affairs journalist, and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, chief editor of GOLOS RODINY journal and OTCHIZNA newspaper]

[Text] [Andrianov] Hello, comrades. The first 10 days of May, colored by the red calico of slogans and placards of the festival of the solidarity of the working people of the world and by the crimson of the banners of our great victory, contain so many notable dates in the life of the peoples of the European Continent that they would indeed suffice for several more months. It is in light of those dates that we regard the events of the past week. Today, in the large and small towns of Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Austria, and other European countries, bouquets of fresh flowers are being laid on the pedestals of memorials to the liberating Soviet soldiers as a sign of sincere gratitude to the heroes of the Red Star who saved the world from fascism and as an oath of allegiance to the sacred struggle for peace and security on earth. Memory returns us again and again to the days of May 1945.

[Agayants] By the way, if we were to try a simple experiment and ask our listeners when they think the last shot of the World War II in Europe was fired, I think a good few of them, especially among the young, would say 9 May—and they would be wrong. Yes, indeed, in Moscow and in other cities of our homeland, the bright colors of a festive salute marked the signing of the unconditional surrender of Hitler's Germany, and there was rejoicing in other countries. Yet, south of Prague, heavy fighting was still going on against the brutalized fascist troops that were trying to break through to the West and disappear into the U.S.-occupied zone. It was only on 11 May 1945 that they were defeated in a last battle near the village of Milin, as an obelisk erected in an open field there testifies.

[Kassis] That victorious May is especially memorable for the Czechoslovak people. It is not for nothing that its national holiday is held on 9 May.

[Agayants] Among the radiant dates of that period, a special place is occupied in the history of millions of Czechs and Slovaks by the 5th of May, when the uprising flared up in Prague.

[Andrianov] Yes. The military-political situation in the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic at that time was extremely complex. Imagine: The allies, the Soviet and U.S. soldiers, had already met on the Elbe. Our red banners were already flying over the Reichstag in defeated Berlin. Yet in Bohemia and Moravia, there were still almost 1 million soldiers, armed to the teeth, of the Hitler army, the core of which was the center group under the command of Field Marshal Schoerner. From 1 May 1945, spontaneous uprisings against the occupation army began to take place in a few towns on Bohemian soil. They were supported by partisan detachments. The Communist Party emerged from underground to head the rebels. On 5 May, the uprising began in Prague, which was a key point for the occupying army, not only from the political point of view but also as a vital center of communications. In the first day the patriots succeeded in liberating most of the city from the Hitlerites and in seizing strategic buildings, including the radio station.

[Kassis] It was from there, of course, that the call for a general uprising went out. It applied not only to Prague itself but to all the towns and villages of Czechoslovakia, Bohemia, and Moravia. The German command used against the poorly armed patriots elite SS units, with artillery, tanks, and aircraft. It was a heavy and uneven battle. The rebels built more than 1,500 barricades and warded off the fierce attacks of the occupying army.

[Agayants] Another highly important fact that should be noted is this: The armed uprising in Prague was accompanied by the creation and establishment in the localities of new peoples' organs of power, the national councils, which numbered among their membership communists and representatives of various anti-fascist groups and organizations. They played a very important leading role in those memorable and tragic days of May, ensuring the strictest discipline and order in the city, organizing the guarding of strategic sites and enterprises, and providing the necessary medical attention for those fighting at the barricades. The uprising became truly national. It set examples of high heroism and self-sacrifice.

[Andrianov] On 7 and 8 May 1945, the situation of those who rose in rebellion in Prague worsened considerably. The Hitlerites were rushing in toward the city and threatening the complete destruction of the capital of Czechoslovakia.

Then the Red Army came to the aid of the people of Prague in their hour of need. From outside Berlin and Dresden, the tank units of Generals Ilyushenko and Rybalko were brought into Prague. In 2 days they accomplished the unprecedented 200-km crossing of the Krusne Hory, overturned the fascist defense in a lightning strike, and rolled into Prague on the morning of 9 May.

I recall the newsreel films made at the time. The photographs, yellowed by time, bear witness to the unforgettable joyful welcome accorded to the liberating Soviet troops in the streets and squares of Golden Prague. The first of the T-34 tanks to enter the city is now mounted on a pedestal. Around that monument there is always, literally, a city of flowers. It is visited by thousands of Prague's residents and guests of the Czechoslovak capital.

[Kassis] The May uprising of the Czech people, though its military significance was restricted by time, was an event of the greatest importance to millions of Czechs and Slovaks on the path toward their national and democratic revolution. It marked the completion of the political crystallization within the resistance movement throughout the country.

[Agayants] It was this that, ultimately, after the victorious February of 1948, the 40th anniversary of which we celebrated this year, led Czechoslovakia onto the path of building socialism.

[Kassis] As Klement Gottwald said, and I quote: The 9th of May is indeed one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of our festivals. On that day in 1945, an end was put forever to the cruel Hitlerite occupation, which was a threat to the very existence of the Czech and Slovak peoples. That day is also a historic dividing line—the day on which the Czech and Slovak peoples began a new era, the brightest era, of their history. It was the era of truly national freedom and independence, of power of the people and of the free labor of the masses; it was the era of the building of socialism.

The 43 years that have passed since that victorious spring have confirmed the correctness of those words. Today the people of the CSSR, together with its friends from the socialist community, are advancing with confidence along the path of building a new life, along the path of revolutionary transformations. On the occasion of this notable date, on its eve, a roundtable has been held at the CSSR Embassy in the USSR devoted to the national holiday of the Czechoslovak people. Taking part in it were Comrade Rehorek, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary; the military attache; and the councillors for press, cultural, and economic affairs. A frank and lively discussion took place on restructuring in the CSSR, Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation, and the outlook for moving forward together. We take this opportunity to wish all our Czechoslovak friends, on their national holiday, the greatest achievements and successes in carrying out the plans elaborated by the last CPCZ Central Committee Plenum.

[Agayants] The 43 years that have elapsed since the end of the war have shown that the building of socialism is by no means a smooth and direct path, mapped out once and for all, and well-trodden. The experience of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland—and our own experience, too—testifies that there have been, and are, not a few difficulties on that path: costs of all kinds, and at times, too, simply mistakes and distortions that severely affect our common cause.

It would be unforgiveably naive to paint the existing situation in a single rosy hue. There is no reason to do so.

[Andrianov] Here, in this connection, I think we cannot fail to mention, even if briefly, what is happening today in Poland, where the opposition is trying to hinder the implementation of the second stage of the country's economic reform. The events at Nowa Huta metallurgical combine in Krakow, where the authorities, to put an end to an illegal strike and restore order, expelled the firebrands from the enterprise's territory and resorted to the help of the militia—without the use of force, I may add—are one more fact and one more link in the chain of actions of those who are provoking a political crisis in Poland, undermining the Republic's economy, and ignoring the population's needs.

[Kassis] Incidentally, a statement by Comrade Urban, the Polish Government's press spokesman, stresses that the authorities are fully determined to ensure calm and the possibility of continuing discussions on the question of the country's future development and further reforms. Comrade Urban said: We desire, as before, dialogue with all who are striving for agreement and for interaction on a realistic basis in the name of the development of the Polish People's Republic.

[Andrianov] Exactly 1 week separates us from 15 May, the day when the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will begin in accordance with the Geneva agreements. The timetable for the withdrawal and the date for it to be completed are well known, and no doubts should arise on this issue. The agreement is completely unalterable in its character.

[Kassis] It is worth saying that at the end of last month, when the Afghan people were marking the 10th anniversary of their revolution, they looked to the Soviet Union, their northern neighbor, with a feeling of particular pride and gratitude. The celebrations took place in a setting of a consolidation of the different forces of Afghan society with their many poles of attraction on the basis of national reconciliation. After all, it is precisely this basis that provides an opportunity to emerge on a straight path to long-awaited peace.

[Agayants] I think it is very important to emphasize that the Geneva agreements on a settlement of the Afghanistan situation will actively and effectively promote this process. The agreements are meant to ensure a complete halt to the interference by anyone in the country's affairs. Along these lines, this interference from Pakistan's territory, where the so-called Alliance of Seven has entrenched itself, is due to be curtailed by 15 May.

[Kassis] I should like even to note that the Afghan issue began to move toward a settlement thanks to the new political thinking and the striving to solve complex international problems by common sense and not by force and by political means and not by the big stick. This is also being noted by the mass media abroad, which continue to comment on the Soviet Government's statement on the Afghan issue, which was published this past April.

[Andrianov] Well then, we can say that the fate of a political settlement on Afghanistan will now depend on how responsibly, consistently, and energetically the whole package signed in Geneva begins to be put into effect. The Soviet Union regards this as a key condition for achieving a settlement and is itself ready to show an example of strict compliance with the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreements.

[Agayants] A recent broadcast by Radio France Inter stressed that, and I quote, the firmness of the Soviet position is making a great impression. Overturning the doubts and skepticism arising from the complexity of the situation, Moscow has confirmed that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will begin, as envisaged, on 15 May and will be completed within 9 months. Here is another interesting acknowledgement by the Swiss BASLER ZEITUNG. Gorbachev, it says, has successfully stood up to yet another test of trust. Over the past decade, the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan has been regarded as the main obstacle in the way of improved relations between the two superpowers and a further deepening of the process of detente. In the near future, this obstacle will be removed.

[Kassis] I think that one can supplement the conclusion made by that Swiss newspaper. The fact that the Soviet Union and the United States have acted in Geneva as guarantors of the Afghan-Pakistan agreements in itself makes it possible for us to speak of a new and most important landmark in Soviet-U.S. relations. Altogether, indeed, a total and unconditional observance of the Geneva package is a common duty for all interested states. One must think that the process will be facilitated by the group of UN observers on the fulfillment of the geneva agreements, which arrived in Kabul on 1 May. It is headed by Major General Rauli Helminen from Finland and Benon Sevan, a senior political adviser from Cyprus.

[Andrianov] We have already noted here the considerable interest of the mass media in the Soviet Government's statement of 26 April this year on a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation. Well, on 3 May, the text of this statement was distributed at the UN headquarters as an official document of the UN General Assembly. Almost at the same time, there was a meeting in Kabul between Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil and one of the leaders of the group of UN observers, General Helminen. The minister expressed gratitude to the UN Secretary general and his personal representative for their big contribution toward the signing of the Geneva accords and assured Helminen that Afghanistan is ready to carry out all points of the agreements and to extend the necessary assistance to the group of UN observers which has arrived.

[Kassis] This was, incidentally, stated recently by Afghan President Najibullah, who stressed that the Afghan leadership is naturally counting on an equally honest attitude toward the fulfillment of their commitments by other countries involved in the settlement. However, it is unfortunately necessary to note that neither external nor internal forces of reaction have yet laid down their arms in the full and figurative meaning of the term. The question arises as to how this is possible. Well, it is like this: These forces are relying quite deliberately on assistance from those who are intending to interpret the Geneva agreements in their own way.

[Agayants] This applies above all, of course, to the United States. According to the latest reports from Islamabad, the United States has started to airlift special deliveries of arms to the so-called Afghan rebels. This indeed has been taking place since the signing of the agreements. How can all this be considered compatible with the guarantees given by Washington on the shores of Lake Geneva? Another question arises at the same time: How indeed will the commitments undertaken by Pakistan not to interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbor look, if U.S. arms are again so soon being supplied through its territory?

[Andrianov] Let us go further and say: Whereas the whole honorable world welcomed the signing of the Geneva agreements with approval, these documents have by no means been to the liking of those who would wish to go on with the bloodshed in Afghanistan. Hekmatyar, the ringleader of the Peshawar Seven, has made his latest hostile attacks on the Geneva agreements. He has again had a lot to say about the fact that his alliance rejects the Geneva agreements and will not permit the return of refugees. He has been assuring everyone that he will fight on until an Islamic government is established in Afghanistan.

[Agayants] In this regard, the ringleader of the bandits has been attempting to frighten the world public with the alleged existence of Soviet plans for some kind of dismemberment of Afghanistan. As they say, the farther one goes, the more there is. Hekmatyar states that he and his forces will attack Soviet troops in the course of their withdrawal. These bellicose utterances are nothing new. They only confirm, as was noted in the Soviet Government's statement of 27 April, the absence of a sense of responsibility for the fate of one's homeland and one's people.

[Kassis] Incidentally, these most irreconcilable people, who are in simple terms just highway bandits, marked in their own way the national festival of their country—that is, the country in which they were born and grew up. In the very center of Kabul, they blew up a truck which was crammed full of explosives. This truck, it emerged, had arrived from Pakistan—precisely from the country to which Washington is making its special arms deliveries. Moreover, THE NEW YORK TIMES recently wrote that over the 8 years, U.S. military aid to Afghan opposition groups has amounted to a little over $2 billion, and possibly more, since according to the newspaper, the precise amount is being kept a complete secret.

[Andrianov] Indeed, although the Peshawar opposition is being torn apart by internal contradictions, it must be admitted that the Alliance of Seven still constitutes a fairly serious destabilizing force, and completely innocent people continue to die as a result of its forays and sabotage acts. This cannot fail to cause concern both in Kabul and in Moscow. No less significant concern is being expressed by the United Nations. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar recently spoke of the need for a strict fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, stressing, and I quote, that there are unfortunately voices being heard which are attempting to interpret the agreements in such a way as to undermine their significance.

[Kassis] I would also like to draw attention to the following; namely, India's call for a halt to the stepping up of tension in South Asia and a review of attitudes to the supply of up-to-date armaments to Pakistan in connection with the signing of the Geneva package. The U.S. Administration has again replied: No. An official White House spokesman has stated that the Geneva agreements do not mean that U.S. aid to islamabad will decrease.

[Agayants] As is well known, President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan was a few days ago in Delhi on an official 3-day visit at the invitation of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Among the issues raised in the course of the talks was the question of U.S. arms deliveries to Pakistan contrary to the Geneva agreements. The patriot has noted that proof exists that even before the conclusion of these agreements representatives of the CIA, U.S. diplomats, and Pakistani military men in the first half of March discussed in Peshawar measures to circumvent these agreements.

When speaking at the reception to honor the Afghan guest, the Indian prime minister assured the Afghan president that, I quote, we are ready here to stand by our Afghan brethren shoulder-to-shoulder and to help them with all our resources to implement the difficult task of restoring and reconstructing what has been destroyed by the war. Rajiv Gandhi noted that both sides strive for peace and stability in the region, speak against foreign interference, and intend to cooperate with each other in fulfilling the tasks that they have set themselves.

[Kassis] What is bewildering, to put it mildly, in this situation is the notorious doctrine of the U.S. President which provides Washington with the right to take reprisals against the governments or regimes that are not to its taste. Is it really possible that, even now, they still fail to understand that the age of dreadnoughts and imperial ambitions has gone?

The Geneva documents have opened a way for setting up an independent, nonaligned, and neutral Afghanistan, and this way should be protected by all sides involved in tackling the problem, regardless of their military or economic potential or their political systems. This is what the world public thinks.

[Agayants] It would be wrong, of course, to suppose that there are no external factors making the process of Aghan settlement more complicated. Nevertheless, it is very important that the implementation of the Geneva agreements has started. It is important above all because the agreement on Afghanistan means a breakthrough into the sphere of settling regional conflicts, which entail a threat to universal peace and international security. The world public quite legitimately sees this event as being on a par with another truly epoch-making event in the entire history of the post war period. I, as you undoubtedly understand, have in mind the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Surely, this document marked a breakthrough into the sphere of practicable nuclear disarmament. Surely no one will be able to deny that this very fact reflects important changes in the world, generally favorable for resolving the historic, worldwide task of reducing and, ultimately, fully eliminating nuclear weapons.

[Andrianov] All this is undoubtedly so. But after all, we are realists. Therefore, we cannot—and simply have no right to—picture the situation in rosy colors. It is necessary to assess soberly the real state of affairs, which shows that there are obstacles, and very considerable ones, in the way of eliminating nuclear weapons. There are many people in the world who have not yet fully realized the danger of the doctrine of so-called nuclear deterrence, which is used to justify various plans for compensation and modernization. This leads to an acceleration of the arms race and aggravates the nuclear threat. What this doctrine feeds on is intentions to attain military superiority and commanding positions in world politics.

[Kassis] I would add that this doctrine shows the contradictory and inconsistent nature of Washington's foreign policy. This is, in particular, clear from the United States' actions in the Asian and South Pacific Ocean region. You don't have to look far for examples. Suffice it to recall the ideas and proposals which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev mentioned and put forward in his Vladivostok speech and in his interview with the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA.

[Agayants] The Soviet Union, Comrade Gorbachev stressed, sees the way to achieve Asian security in the resolute limitation of military actions in this region, expansion of business cooperation, as well as interaction and more active work on the peaceful solution of problems which are vital and important for each country and for this entire region of our planet. These constructive initiatives have been received by many states of the region with interest. But what was the U.S. reply? It replied by increasing its pressure and by widening the American military presence in the region.

[Kassis] And by involving more actively its Far Eastern partner, Japan, in actions of this kind. Let us take the example of the Japanese-U.S. consultations on problems concerning security that were held in Honolulu this week. Their subject was the intensification of the Washington-Tokyo military fusion.

Judging from what representatives of the military departments of the two countries have said, it appears that they do not discern any positive shifts toward the detente which has taken shape in the international arena.

One cannot help thinking that positive changes of this kind in international affairs obviously don't fit the stale stereotypes that are customary in militarist circles. The experts from the Pentagon and the Japanese National Defense Agency, when speaking in Honolulu, preferred to ignore obvious facts for the purpose of repeating constantly that the Soviet Union, allegedly, is continuing to build up its nuclear as well as conventional armed forces.

[Andrianov] The tune, I wish to note, is not at all new. Neither is the reason why they resort to such inventions. Old tales about the Soviet military threat are again being pressed into service to justify new steps and to multipy the facets of Japanese military cooperation with the United states. What is more, this military integration has quite specific aspects. One of them concerns the interaction of the armed forces of the two countries within the framework of the U.S. strategy of so-called fast deployment.

[Agayants] To elaborate this point, one should mention that this strategy in this specific case includes the setting up of large stores of U.S. weapons and ammunition on Japanese territory, which will be required, they say, if it becomes necessary to effect an urgent transfer of U.S. troops to Japan. Even the area where these arsenals are to be deployed has been specified. It is Hokkaida, the northernmost island of the Japanese archipelago. In other words, it is situated in the direct vicinity of the Soviet Union's territory.

[Kassis] They have even found a pretext to justify the possible need to transfer U.S. troops to Japanese territory. The pretext is, of course, contrived. It refers to a so-called situation of emergency. This word combination has long since become usual both in Japanese propaganda and in the statements of official Tokyo's spokesmen.

They resort to it every time they mean by it the beginning of military operations—or, more precisely, aggression against Japan. But who is about to attack Japan? Naturally, they don't give a straight answer to that question; they do, however, hint quite transparently that some such threat exists on the part of the Soviet Union.

[Andrianov] Under that same false pretext, Washington is putting pressure on Tokyo and demanding that Japan should sharply increase her military potential. The claim is that it's time the Japanese took upon themselves a substantial share of the responsibility in the sphere of security, since the United States is no longer able to cope with this heavy task alone, while their Far Eastern ally is doing nothing and clipping coupons parasitizing on the United States' military might.

[Agayants] Washington's demands have not been in vain. Not so long ago, the Japanese premier, Takeshita, called for a still stronger build-up of his country's armed forces. It is perfectly obvious, however, that the Japanese hawks have long been exploiting the pressure from the United States as a convenient screen to cover their own ambitions. Those ambitions are growing simultaneously with the increase in Japan's military power, which in some areas has gone forward by leaps and bounds in the last few years.

[Andrianov] At a meeting this week with the deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, Fuwa, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted that the militarist approach to the situation in Asia and the Pacific runs counter to the growing understanding, among the public and in many political circles there, of responsibility for the fate of the whole world. In the present international situation, it is time to renounce the bus of the past, in which it is impossible to move into the future.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Shultz To Meet in Geneva 11-12 May

LD0705205388 Moscow TASS in English
2039 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—It was announced here today that, under the accord reached, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, will meet in Geneva on May 11-12.

Kornilov Examines Pre-Summit Atmosphere

PM0605155188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 7 May 88 p 3

["View of Events" by political observer Yuriy Kornilov: "Before the Moscow Summit Meeting"]

[Text] As 29 May, the day when the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting opens in Moscow, draws nearer, the world's attention and interest in it are increasing. The opinions being expressed are, of course, not unanimous. But if we highlight the basic, the main element out of the material being published abroad, there is every justification for saying: Eminent politicians and public figures in different countries and the mass media agree that the upcoming summit dialogue between Moscow and Washington will be the most important foreign policy event of the year.

The range of this dialogue is extremely broad, but problems of international security and curbing the arms race invariably constitute its core. And this is only to be expected: Today, when the world's nuclear arsenals have accumulated nuclear explosives with a total yield of approximately 20,000 megatons (1.5 million Hiroshimas!), there is no problem more important than destroying the nuclear sword hanging over the planet. It is to be hoped that the first and extremely important step in this direction will soon be made: 1,752 Soviet and 859 U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are due to be eliminated in accordance with the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington last year. Moscow and Washington are now preparing for a second and even more important step: a 50-percent reduction in the most dangerous and most terrible arms—strategic offensive arms. The arsenals of these arms are huge: the USSR has 2,494 strategic delivery vehicles with approximately 10,000 nuclear charges, and the United States has 2,260 and 16,000 respectively. Is there any need to speak of the sigh of relief which the world would heave if these deadly arsenals were to be reduced by half?

Even though the USSR and the United States have already reached the point from which rapid progress is possible given mutual efforts, many foreign observers emphasize that the reduction of strategic offensive arms is an exceptionally complex matter demanding of the sides firm political will, flexibility, and persistence, in other words, the most intense work on seeking mutually acceptable solutions on questions which are still unresolved. These questions concern primarily the implementation of the accord reached by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in Washington in December regarding observance of the ABM Treaty and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed period of time. There are serious problems concerning long-range sea-launched cruise missiles: While the USSR is putting forward specific proposals on the reduction of these arms, the United States is—so far, at least—limiting itself mainly to raising doubts about the effectiveness of the measures suggested by our country without proposing anything in exchange. The U.S. reasoning on air-launched cruise missiles is far from perfect: In the opinion of Soviet experts, it contains a series of clearly unacceptable proposals.

Will the sides manage to complete the extremely difficult work on preparing the treaty on strategic offensive arms in the time remaining until the summit meeting? It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question today. One thing is obvious, however: The problem of the reduction of strategic offensive arms has firmly taken the "No 1 spot" in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, and the importance of this fact is difficult to overestimate. It is an equally important fact that other important disarmament problems are also being examined in the course of the Moscow-Washington dialogue: The banning of chemical weapons, the reduction of so-called conventional arms and armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, the problem of nuclear tests. There is no doubt that solutions could be found to all these questions—but, of course, on the basis of equality and identical security and with due consideration for the interests of all other states and peoples. It is also perfectly obvious that a desire to thoroughly work out all aspects of the draft treaty on strategic offensive arms cannot and must not be used as an excuse to slow down the pace of the work.

Yes, grounds for optimism do exist, but it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that certain circles in the West are not interested in any improvement of the political climate and have not laid down their arms. It is these circles that are trying to erect obstacles in the way of the reduction of strategic arms, it is they that are striving to act in such a way as to render worthless what has already been achieved in the sphere of taming the nuclear genie. Let us leaf, for example, through the documents of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group session which ended a few days ago in Brussels—what was discussed there? On the one hand, the session participants seemed to welcome the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. But, having spoken out in support of the treaty, they immediately executed a sharp turnabout and started pontificating that it is supposedly incumbent upon NATO "to ensure the continuous efficiency and effectiveness of the combination of conventional and nuclear arms." The essence and meaning of these speeches were exposed, in particular, by the British newspaper THE OBSERVER, which reported that through "arms upgrading" and "compensation", NATO strategists are planning to deploy in West Europe at least twice as many new nuclear warheads as will be eliminated in accordance with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. What is this if not an attempt to evade and "bypass" key provisions of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles?

The appropriate propaganda backup has been provided for the militarist course of "arms upgrading." We have already given our appraisal of a series of recent statements by the U.S. President which have been couched in a frankly confrontational spirit and have been literally side by side with calls to "bank on strength," and full of hackneyed fabrications about the USSR's "aggressiveness" and "expansionism." Now the baton of confrontation has been taken over by Pentagon chief F. Carlucci and British Secretary of State for Defense G. Younger, who have put into circulation a fabrication to the effect that the USSR is supposedly "retargeting" some of its strategic missiles on West Europe. At the same time, the Pentagon has brought out its latest annual report "Soviet Military Power," the seventh, which slanderously asserts that Moscow "is striving only to divert attention from Soviet militarism" and is hatching sinister plans for "military operations in Eurasia." The fabrications are different, but their goal is the same: to intimidate people with the mythical "Soviet threat" and to justify the militarist plans for "arms upgrading."

Incidentally, the authors of such confrontational statements also have other objectives. The result of Soviet restructuring and the assertion of the principles of glasnost and genuine democratism in our life is that the old anti-Soviet patterns and stereotypes in the West, including the United States, are collapsing like a house of cards, while the prestige of the Land of the Soviets and of the socialist ideas is steadily growing. On the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations have coincided with the presidential election campaign in the United States itself, during which U.S. ultraright-wing circles are trying to "score points" by accusing the administration of almost "giving in to the Reds." In these conditions, some people, including high-ranking U.S. figures, are paying servile "homage to the right," pursuing at least two objectives simultaneously: on the one hand, to butter up the champions of confrontation and the arms race race, whose weight and influence in U.S. political life must not be underestimated, and on the other hand, to try and curb the U.S. public's growing interest in and sympathy for the USSR and discredit our restructuring and socialism.

I think that this is the context in which we ought to examine the U.S. approach toward humanitarian problems—an important element in Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Through R. Reagan, Washington has proclaimed itself to be the "beacon of democracy" but, one might ask, who is benefiting from this beacon's light? Its light is possibly visible from the fashionable palaces and villas belonging to the 400 multimillionaires whom the U.S. magazine FORBES lists as belonging to the caste of America's "super-rich." But it can hardly reach the 34 million Americans who are living below the official poverty line or, say, the ranks of the millions-strong army of unemployed. No, on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, our side puts the question like this: Is it not time that the Washington "champions of rights" abandoned the "exposee," accusatory, didactic manner of dialogue? What the Soviet public expects from Washington is not a repetition of grating dogmas and fabrications, but readiness for businesslike discussion and constructive cooperation—discussion and cooperation which could make it possible to contribute to improving the life of people everywhere, including and by no means least in the United States.

As a result of the three Soviet-U.S. summit meetings, the arrow of the international political barometer has finally shifted from "overcast," but a lot of work still lies ahead and time alone will show the pace at which the Soviet-U.S. dialogue will be transformed into new practical actions. As for the Land of the Soviets, which persistently seeks seeds of agreement even in a vast sea of differences, it is fully determined to do everything within its power to ensure the logical continuation of the course which lay through Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington. The course of peace, trust, and cooperation.

'Vremya' Program To Be Shown in U.S.

LD0605235688 Moscow TASS in English
2238 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] New York May 6 TASS—Over 30 million American families will be able to watch every evening "Vremya" information programme of Central Television of the USSR during the Soviet-American summit in Moscow. A programme to last for one hour which has the tentative title "The Way They See It: Soviet Evening News Programme" will start at nine p.m. It will be shown on the channels of the Discovery Company of cable television with technological assistance of the New York Orbit Technologies Corporation.

Vremya programme will be received via satellite communications at the Discovery television studios in Alexandria, Virginia. It will be taped and translated into English. The programme's mediator is prominent American journalist, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Hodding Carter.

President of the Discovery Company Ruth Otty said that by presenting the Soviet evening news programme, the corporation gives TV viewers a rare opportunity to get impression of the view of the world in the USSR and to watch the summit. She said these broadcasts will be truly historic as they will enable Americans to receive a broader notion about life in the USSR.

Muscovites Polled on USSR-U.S. Relations

LD0805151288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 8 May 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Excerpt] At the moment, a lot of opinions are being expressed about Soviet-U.S. relations, since the Moscow summit meeting is approaching—President Reagan is to visit us at the end of the month. And now the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Science has conducted a public opinion poll among Muscovites at the request of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. One thousand people were questioned. Here are the interesting results:

Only 8 percent of those questioned consider that Soviet-U.S. relations have improved. Six percent consider them to be bad. Sixty-seven percent find them satisfactory. And 19 percent of those questioned had no opinion.

Now, as to changes for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations after the summit meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik and Washington and now before our summit in Moscow. Three percent of those questioned think that there have been no changes. Nine percent think that these changes are profound and even irreversible. But the majority—66 percent—describe the changes as significant but not stable. And 12 percent do not have an opinion, so to speak. [passage omitted]

Pentagon Study of USSR 'Threat' Criticized

PM0605154188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[Candidate of Technical Sciences Colonel V. Chernyshev article: "There Is No Holding the Disinformation Specialists. A Long Way to the New Thinking. The Latest Pentagon Yearbook Published"]

[Text] I have before me the latest Pentagon yearbook which has just been published in Washington and which claims to analyze Soviet foreign policy. A "clear and precise description of the military capabilities" of the USSR is how U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci describes it in his signed preface.

The new yearbook—the seventh in succession—has come out at an important time when the new political thinking, characterized, in particular, by a new approach to the opposite side and a desire to promote the growth of international trust, is blazing its trail.

The Soviet-U.S. summit meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington are behind us and the Moscow meeting lies ahead. A whole series of important documents, above all the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, has been signed between the USSR and the United States and intensive work is under way to draft an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments while strictly observing the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972.

This March a meeting took place between the USSR and U.S. defense ministers in Bern. For the first time in postwar history, Soviet and U.S. leaders of this rank, who bear the main burden of responsibility for the defense and security of their states, face to face at the negotiating table, held a professional discussion on the military aspects of key political problems linked with the removal of the military threat. There is no doubt that the U.S. defense secretary had a chance to get answers to all the questions which he had any doubts about so that during the preparation for publication of the new Pentagon yearbook he could then put in theses which match up to the realities and discard all the outmoded dogmas and stereotypes which have automatically been shunted from one edition to the next for the past 7 years.

Have such expectations proved justified? Did the new Pentagon leadership take this opportunity to adopt a realistic stance? Unfortunately, these questions must be answered in the negative. Even under the new leadership, the Pentagon—to judge from its "study"—still has an extremely long way to go to the new thinking. Let us illustrate this with concrete examples.

First. The yearbook's entire content, as before, is aimed at creating among its readership the "image of the enemy" in the person of the USSR. The very title of the pamphlet in which the previously used wording "Soviet Military Power" has now been supplemented with the subhead "Assessing the Threat," is enough to illustrate the specially targeted thrust of the "study" and is designed to convince the reader straightaway of the definite existence of this "threat." It will only supposedly be a question of defining precisely the scale of this threat.

Having decided to "analyze" the effect of restructuring, glasnost, and the new thinking on the USSR's foreign and military policy, the Pentagon makes the groundless claim that nothing has changed. They say that all this is only a "change of style" by which "Moscow is trying to divert attention from Soviet militarism and adventurism in foreign policy." They continue to impute to the Soviet Union certain ambitions to become the dominant world power. "The Soviet Union's national aims demand the expansion of its military might and political influence beyond its borders in order to... satisfy its imperial appetites... Although it prefers peace to war, it is quite prepared to strive to secure its interests by means of blackmail, diplomatic coercion, or direct use of force," the yearbook affirms.

Nor does it ever occur to its compilers that the concept of an all-embracing system of international security propounded by the Soviet Union is receiving increasing recognition in the world community. The Soviet foreign policy initiatives which are coming to fruition are clearly not to the liking of the yearbook's compilers. For all this erodes the "enemy image," which has built up in the United States over many years. The Pentagon is not happy with the results of the public opinion poll conducted in the United States, according to which more than 70 percent of Americans think that "it is possible to get along with communist countries." A total of 80 percent are in favor of the accords with the USSR on arms control and 73 percent are convinced that the Soviet leadership "seriously wants to make progress in this sphere." The change in Americans' ideas about the Soviet Union alarms those who find the outmoded stereotype of the "enemy" as personified by the USSR so essential.

Second. Soviet military doctrine appears in a completely distorted light in the Pentagon yearbook. Everything is turned upside down in it. "Soviet military doctrine regards war as the extension of politics," the authors of the "study" assert categorically, despite the facts. "Soviet military power and the threat which it presents are no abstraction. It is impossible to deny the Soviet readiness to use military force to ensure submission," they tell the West intimidatingly.

As is well known, the political aspect of Soviet military doctrine reflects the attitude of the Soviet state toward war and also reflects the military-political tasks to prevent war and to strengthen the country's defense and security. It would be a good idea if the Pentagon "analysts" who claim to be well informed about the USSR's foreign policy, were to acquaint themselves with the works of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in which he states unequivocally and clearly: Clausewitz's formula—a classic in its time—that war is the extension of politics by other means, has become hopelessly outmoded. There can be no military solution to international conflicts and nuclear war cannot be used as a means of achieving political, economic, or ideological ends, whatever they may be. It is important that nonnuclear war too is now becoming comparable with nuclear war in terms of its disastrous consequences.

"We advocate," Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, stated 29 April at a meeting with the the heads of the foreign diplomatic missions and the military attaches of embassies to the USSR, "that all contentious issues which crop up between states or alliances of states be resolved solely by political means around the peaceful negotiating table without use of force or reliance on force. This approach is especially necessary in the nuclear space age when peace is too fragile for strong-arm policies. On this premise Soviet military doctrine also provides for a broad range of measures geared toward preventing war and ensuring the security not only of our state but also that of our allies."

Third. Continuing to pass off lies for truth, Pentagon "analysts" say that Soviet military doctrine "puts the emphasis on offensive operations." A map of "military operations in Eurasia" allegedly being planned by the Soviet Union has even been cited. Red and black arrows of military strikes emanate from the USSR's territory in all directions. They threaten Scandinavia, the FRG, France, Spain, Britain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, India, the PRC, Japan, and even Alaska, which, as is well known, has nothing to do with Eurasia. "Although the Soviet Union would prefer to use solely conventional armaments in a conflict, it is prepared to use nuclear and chemical weapons," it is stated in the chapter which this map illustrates.

Evidently to impart some kind of "authenticity" to such unfounded claims, the yearbook's authors deem it necessary to make this reservation: In the eighties the USSR began to introduce defensive operations into its strategy, but the strategy itself on the whole, they say, nevertheless is an offensive one.

All this at a time when Soviet documents are saying outright that Soviet military doctrine sees defense as the main type of military operation when repelling aggression. Troops and naval forces should only be able to wage a resolute offensive after repelling an offensive. The transisition to this will take the form of a counteroffensive. Pentagon "researchers" "overlooked" the most graphic corroboration of the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine: the USSR's pledge to never initiate military operations under any circumstances against any state or alliance of states whatsoever, unless it itself or its allies become the target of any attack; and the official statement that the Soviet Union will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. These pledges are, after all an immutable requirement in Soviet military building.

The Pentagon yearbook makes no mention at all of the true tenets of Soviet military doctrine as expounded in official Soviet documents: its subordination to the task of preventing war—both nuclear and conventional; the interdependence of the two tasks—the prevention of war and readiness to repel an aggressor.

Soviet military doctrine is aimed not at preparing for war but at preventing it and not at unleashing wars but at consolidating international security. At the same time, the unresolved nature of many conflicts between states with different social systems with powerful armed forces at their disposal, the periodic recurrence of attempts at a strong-arm solution to international problems, and the still unending arms race in the world—all dictate the necessity for concern about our security. Naturally, Soviet military doctrine provides for effective political and defense measures designed to keep an aggressor from unleashing war and depriving him of the illusory hope of winning victory.

The attempt to give the world public a false impression of the USSR's military policy and inculcate a false sense of the "danger" allegedly emanating from our country is not a new approach and is one with which we have been familiar for a long time. This is happening, in particular, with the drafting of the new Pentagon budget. Budgetary considerations can easily be traced in the current yearbook too. This document also has other aims: to halt the incipient disarmament process and undermine the emergent improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Kornilov on U.S. 'Hypocrisy' Regarding Poland

LD0705172588 Moscow TASS in English
1655 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

First of all about two reports that came from the United States almost simultaneously. The first: A spokesman for the U.S. Administration has expressed for one more time "concern" over the developments in Poland. The second: Eric Mann, the author of the book on problems of the working movement, that was brought out in the United States, expressed amazement in the NEW YORK TIMES today that the Washington Administration, which advocates so fervently the interests of the Polish working people, itself made anti-labor, anti-trade union actions a pivot of its domestic policy. Irrefutable facts on this score are cited: Breaking the air traffic controllers union, encouraging a burgeoning growth industry of consulting firms explicitly dedicated to union busting, anti-labour legislation allowing the authorities to permanently discharge striking workers, and sanctioning the cutting of food stamps for striking workers to literally starve them back to work...

Comparing these reports makes it possible to bring into focus once again the purpose of and the reason behind the propaganda campaign which has been launched by certain quarters in the West recently and, first and foremost, the United States around the developments in Poland.

Complex processes related primarily to the implementation of sweeping economic reforms are taking place in Poland's social life. Certainly, it is the matter of Poles themselves to look for and find solutions to these utterly internal problems. But in Washington they for some reason hold that Warsaw will not do without counsels from the outside. So, obtrusive "recommendations" on the theme of how the Polish authorities should act, with whom they should conduct a dialogue and with whom should not... are let loose from top rostrums and on the waves of "radio voices".

And if only this. "Friends, all those who wish us all the best look with enhanced attention on our country, but those who are not interested in Poland being a strong state, those who want to exploit our failures to their own ends also keep an eye on us," the newspaper TRYBUNU LUDU wrote the other day.

Let's add: Not just keep an eye but try in every way to stir up passions with the help of the purposeful propaganda campaign, to orchestrate the events.

This campaign is being conducted under the well-adjusted and familiar pattern. On the one hand, all statements and actions by the government aimed at protecting law and order, at preventing the erosion of the principles and mechanisms of the economic reform are passed over in silence or utterly distorted. On the other, any petitions or actions by people who were disorientated or confused, let alone extremists elements, are printed at once in large quantities, and extremists themselves are extolled and are even raised to the rank of the "defenders of the working people's rights".

In Washington they assiduously uphold the "principle of the dialogue" between the authorities and the mass of the working people. But why do not they in Washington follow this principle? Do they not have ground to conduct such a dialogue with, say, 30 million Americans living below the poverty line, or, for instance, with those millions of their fellow citizens who are denied the right to work and sometimes a roof over their head? The arguments by the self-styled friends of the Polish working people do not tally. Hypocrisy—one can hardly call their tactic otherwise.

Biryukov on 'Cynicism' of U.S. Afghan Policy

LD0605145788 Moscow TASS International
Service in Russian 1306 GMT 6 May 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, 6 May (TASS)—TASS political observer Askold Biryukov writes:

When one looks at the statements and practical actions of representatives of the U.S. Administration which run counter to the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, one cannot help asking oneself how much the signatures of the statesmen from Washington under international acts are worth.

The Geneva agreements, signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan and certified by the signatures and guarantees of the Soviet Union and the United States, created the necessary preconditions for a political settlement to the external aspects of the Afghan problem. Their strict observance provides for an end to the undeclared war against Afghanistan and any interference in that country's internal affairs, and the return of the Soviet troops to their homeland and the Afghan refugees to their own homes. The rights and obligations of the participants in the Geneva agreements are of an irreversible nature and any departure from that which is recorded in them can only damage the cause of a settlement and propel it far back.

The Soviet Union has declared its steadfast determination to act in full accordance with the Geneva agreements. The Afghan Government has also declared the same thing. But how is the United States acting?

Despite the pledge made by the United States in Geneva to "refrain rigorously from interference and intervention in any form" in Afghanistan's affairs, the U.S. Administration has proclaimed a program of continuing, and in actual fact stepping up, military supplies to groups fighting against the legitimate government of the Republic of Afghanistan—a government, incidentally, with which the United States maintains diplomatic relations. Only last week there was an AP report from Islamabad which, quoting an "official," said that the United States was carrying out "emergency deliveries" of arms to Afghan antigovernment formations by means of an "airlift." How, one might ask, can these deliveries be reconciled with the pledge to eliminate the actual source of the undeclared war on the territory of Pakistan, stemming from the Geneva agreements? The point is that Washington cannot fail to realize that the United States is thus putting arms in the hands of the "intransigents" who do not accept the Geneva agreements, refuse to halt the bloodshed on Afghan soil and reject national reconciliation, declaring their intention to "fight until victory?"

But even this is not all. As THE NEW YORK TIMES reported today, the United States has stated to the Afghan extremists that it will support their attempt to set up a provisional government if they are able to establish monitoring over the major part of Afghan territory and carry out many other conditions set out by the United States. [passage omitted]

One can only be astonished at the cynicism with which Washington shapes its policy aimed at the continuation of bloodshed in Afghanistan and open interference in the internal affairs of this country. The Geneva agreements are a test of the sincerity of the intentions and the honesty of the actions of all their participants. Those who really wish peace for the Afghan people and who sincerely wish to help it to restore its country, will be acting in strict accordance with the agreements signed in Geneva.

Reagan Radio Speech on INF Ratification

LD0705202088 Moscow TASS in English
2006 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Washington May 7 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan today delivered his weekly radio address which was wholly devoted to the forthcoming debate by the full Senate on the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty.

"The treaty represents a landmark accomplishment, an historic accomplishment, because once implemented, it will bring about the elimination of an entire class of American and Soviet nuclear missiles," he said.

The President said that Senate approval of the treaty "will enable us to get on with the job on eliminating these missiles".

"I know that you, the American people, strongly support this INF Treaty," Reagan went on.

"And on Capitol Hill, the House of Representatives has already given the treaty its endorsement by an overwhelming vote of 393 to 7."

The President expressed the hope that "the final vote will indeed give advice and consent to this historic treaty".

At the same time, he again voiced the idea that negotiations with the Soviet Union should be conducted "from strength".

Reagan made it clear that he was going to apply this "formula" to other negotaitions too.

Reagan Addresses Human Rights Issue

LD0505161888 Moscow TASS in English
1451 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Washington May 5 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan has delivered in Chicago a speech which was wholly devoted to problems of human rights in American interpretation. He gave his assessment to the processes taking place in that sphere in the USSR, saying that "in the recent months, the Soviet Union has shown a willingness to respect at least some human rights. It is my belief that there is hope for further change, hope that in the days ahead the Soviets will grant further recognition to the fundamental civil and political rights of all".

The head of the White House used the speech to praise the American way of life, saying that "we can hold up as an example for all the world."

Meanwhile the President himself was compelled to admit that the situation in the sphere of human rights in the United States leaves much to be desired. "Yes, the United States has social and economic shortcomings", he noted. "Unemployment, for one... We need to do more jobs". "Homelessness is indeed a problem, an agonizing one", Reagan said.

The head of the U.S. Administration admitted casually that there were problems of racial discrimination in the United States. "The problems are serious—no one would seek to deny that". The President asserted that the American "Government is the servant of the people, and not the other way around", though, as is known, the record of his administration shows that official Washington by no means always heeds the voice of the people.

Nevertheless, as was clear from Reagan's speech he intends to put these questions amid the basic ones on the agenda of the coming Moscow negotiations. Having listened to Reagan, the participants in the forum that he addressed, asked him to say what he expected from the Moscow meeting in an area which affects questions of ensuring security of the United States and the whole world.

Answering questions, Reagan said that in Moscow he hoped to sign together with Mikhail Gorbachev documents on ratification of the INF Treaty, if by that time the process of ratification in both countries ended. He expressed doubt that the sides in the course of the meeting would be able to sign the treaty on reduction of strategic armaments. "It is far more complicated than the INF Treaty was. But then what we have to say is we must not be bound by a calendar date", he said. "We don't want a fast treaty, we want a good one, and if it is not properly worked out before we get there, then I think that that will be one of the things we will discuss while we are there and see if we can advance it a little, but eventually, that we will sign that treaty".

Answering the question "what, in his opinion, is the most important need in international relations", President Reagan pointed to the need of elimination of a nuclear threat. "We now have a weapon that can destroy the world and why don't we recognize that threat more clearly and then come together with one aim in mind—how safely, sanely, and quickly can we rid the world of this threat to our civilization and our existence."

House of Representatives Votes on SDI Funds

LD0505094[illegible] Moscow TASS in English
0837 GMT 5 [illegible] 88

[Text] Washington May 5 TASS—The House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress voted 223 to 195 Wednesday to reduce drastically the appropriations for Reagan's "Star Wars" programme. Congressmen made a decision to set aside 3.5 billion dollars for it in fiscal 1989 which starts on October 1. This is 400 million dollars down from the sum in the current fiscal year and 1.4 billion down from the White House request for the next year.

On the outcome of the voting, U.S. Secretary of Defence Frank Carlucci said that these funds for the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative were inadequate and threatened that he would recommend to President Reagan vetoing the entire bill on the U.S. military budget which finances SDI.

The Senate of the U.S. Congress has not considered this issue as yet, but the proposal which will be put to a vote next week provides for earmarking 4.6 billion dollars for "Star Wars," which is up on the sum proposed by the House of Representatives but 300 million down from the White House request.

U.S. Germ Warfare Research 'Provocative'

LD0505162888 Moscow TASS in English
1509 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—General Geliy Batenin, a military expert of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, today said that some quarters in the United States were pressing for creating stocks of bacteriological warfare agents—a kind of weaponry banned by an international convention.

Commenting on congressional hearings in the U.S. on the American biological warfare program in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent, he added:

"Although most congressmen, judging by press reports, object to opening a planned laboratory to develop new technologies for producing germ weapons at Dugway in Utah state, the very fact that the issue has been raised by the Pentagon indicates that U.S. authorities are not going to reckon with the international convention.

"The striving to step up work on a new type of weapon of mass annihilation at a time when efforts are being made in the framework of the Soviet-American dialogue to create a system of mutual security is provocative."

The convention the expert mentioned is one on the prohibition of the development and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction. It was adopted in April 1972 at the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The U.S. BUSINESS WEEK magazine recently reported that government appropriations for the Pentagon to conduct research into bacteriological weapons had grown to 90 million dollars in 1986 from 15 million in 1981.

Another five million dollars have been allocated to build the supersecret facility at Dugway.

Speaking in Congress Wednesday, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Thomas Welch attempted to persuade congressmen to endorse the five million dollars in funding for the Dugway lab.

He claimed that together with other NATO members the United States was involved in a defensive program against germ weapons.

Taking issue with the claim, THE WASHINGTON POST said the Dugway lab would be useless for developing protective gear against such weapons.

Accuracy of VOA Broadcasts Questioned

PM0505150988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 May 88 p 3

[Article by V. Ostrovskiy under the rubric "Let's Investigate": "Who Is Creating the Interference"]

[Text] U.S. President R. Reagan has urged us to open the airwaves to Western radio stations, although the bulk of them broadcast without hindrance...

There has been a peculiar echo of this appeal in the broadcasts of VOA, which has no desire at all to follow the principle of "the truth and nothing but the truth." Even in its presentation of the text of M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the participants of the ASTEC [American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council] meeting in Moscow, VOA distorted its content. It described the agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments as "prohibiting long-range nuclear missiles," thus excluding bombers and air-launched cruise missiles from it. Moreover, it presented an arbitrary interpretation of the terms for the achievement of an agreement, with the following concoction: "If both sides work constructively and are not guided by political opportunism." As we can see, "opportunism" is ascribed to us too.

In fact it was said that the goal is attainable in the immediate future "if one is guided not by the considerations of the moment and political expediency but by the principled approach agreed on at meetings between the U.S. and Soviet leaders." The difference in meaning is obvious.

VOA's broadcasts contain a great deal of fiction about us. To give them greater credibility they cite senior officials in the U.S. Administration. Just the other day, VOA announced that there are around 340 "political prisoners" in the USSR, referring listeners to a pronouncement by W. Zimmerman, head of the U.S. delegation at the Vienna meeting.

To check this "fact" I called USSR Internal Affairs Minister Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, who refuted VOA's claim.

"As of now there are 17 prisoners in our country serving terms under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, stipulating certain terms of imprisonment for agitation and propaganda conducted for the purpose of undermining or weakening Soviet power, or for committing certain particularly dangerous state crimes," he said.

Voice of Israel forced me to get in touch with the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration, because it had "warned" about Jewish pogroms in the offing in the city. Leaflets distributed in the city are apparently calling for them. The administration told me that there was no trace of any leaflets.

Returning to the appeals from Washington circulated via VOA, it is worth recalling that on the eve of May Day, it cited R. Reagan's words that the goal of U.S. policy is to bring about normal relations between East and West. One wonders whether the people responsible for the information broadcast by that radio station are contributing to this.

Soviet, U.S. Experts' Foreign Policy Report

LD0605084188 Moscow TASS in English 0801 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Washington May 6 TASS—The Soviet Union and the United States are currently on the threshold of historic opportunities for substantive and mutually-beneficial change in their relations, stresses the joint report by the team of prominent Soviet and American foreign policy experts, which was issued in Washington. It contains 14 specific recommendations on political actions and steps, which both sides should take to put these opportunities to use with the aim of developing stable co-existence between the USSR and the USA.

This unprecedented political research has been an outcome of fruitful cooperation between the public organization American Committee on US-Soviet Relations and the Institute of the USA and Canada of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Participating in the work on the report, which lasted three years, from the Soviet side were Academician Georgiy Arbatov, chairman of the APN Board Valentin Falin, columnist of the newspaper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Fyodor Burlatskiy, leading experts of the Institute of the USA and Canada. From the American side—notable politologist Arthur Macy Cox, former CIA director William Colby, former U.S. deputy secretary of state George Ball, former undersecretary of the Air Force Townsend Hoopes, former senator John Culver and others.

The authors of the report stress that the "most promising way" to the attainment of that goal is a "gradual demilitarization" of rivalries between the USSR and the USA, a lessening of mutual fear and distrust. This process, the experts pointed out, necessitates a sharp change in the attitudes and views on both sides. The American and Soviet experts note that they realistically view the obstacles hampering the development of new thinking on these issues, but do not believe them to be insurmountable. In this nuclear age, the report says, it is impossible any longer to ensure security by unilateral national means, since the defence and survival of each society depend on restraint and cooperation from the other side.

Nuclear war, the document says, can never be a means for reaching any rational political goal. Military superiority is an illusion, yet attempts to ensure it undermine international security. As the authors of the report say, the USSR and the USA have common interests in checking and resolving the regional conflicts.

The present-day conditions urgently necessitate that the Soviet Union and the United States lessen their rivalries, said Arthur M. Cox, who long worked at the CIA and the U.S. State Department, presenting the report. The continuing arms race becomes too expensive to both sides.

The same idea was expressed in his statement by Academician Georgiy Arbatov, head of the team of Soviet experts. He pointed out that many ideas expressed in the joint report are not new, but may become an agenda for a serious dialogue.

Northeast Asia

More on DPRK's Kim Yong-nam Moscow Visit

Gorbachev Meeting Viewed

LD0505163088 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—"The meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was the culmination of our visit," Kim Yong-nam, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, deputy premier of the Administration Council and foreign minister of the DPRK, has pointed out.

In an interview to a TASS correspondent today, he emphasised that the meeting with Gorbachev and the talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze were held in a sincere and comradely atmosphere.

The foreign minister of the DPRK said that he was very satisfied with the results of these meetings.

A broad range of international problems and issues of Soviet-Korean relations were discussed. In the talks, the two sides stressed the need for the further expansion and development of Soviet-Korean relations in the spirit of the accords reached between Kim Il-song and Gorbachev in October 1986.

The head of the Korean delegation said that the DPRK highly assessed the Soviet-American INF Treaty. The conclusion of that treaty, Kim said, marked victory of the Soviet Union's Leninist peace policy and was a starting point for carrying out nuclear disarmament on the whole. "We will campaign against the threat of nuclear war jointly with the Soviet Union."

On the situation in the Korean peninsula, the minister said that the division of Korea harboured a threat of nuclear war. On the other hand, the unification of Korea would be a guarantee of peace since peace and security in the Korean peninsula was of vital importance for lessening international tensions.

The DPRK foreign minister stressed the need for removing American nuclear weapons and American troops from the Korean peninsula and turning it into a zone of peace.

"If the United States sincerely wishes peace and unification of Korea, it should respond to our proposals for defusing tansions in the region.

"This meets the aspirations of all peoples who seek peace around the world," Kim pointed out.

On prospects of Soviet-Korean relations, he emphasised that the USSR was a fraternal neighbouring country which helped liberate the Korean people from Japanese occupation. Developing friendly relations with the Soviet Union was an important item in the DPRK's foreign policy.

Activities Reviewed

PM0605185988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 88 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the headline "On the Visit by DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam to the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Kim Yong-nam, member of the WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the DPRK Administration Council, and DPRK foreign minister, was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit from 28 April to 5 May at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

In the Soviet Union, Kim Yong-nam and the persons accompanying him were given a hearty welcome [radushnyy priyem]. The guests visited Moscow and Minsk.

Kim Yong-nam laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Kin Yong-nam was received by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. A friendly conversation took place between them. Kim Yong-nam handed M.S. Gorbachev a personal message from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and DPRK president. M.S. Gorabchev expressed gratitude for the message and asked that his friendly greetings and good wishes should be conveyed to Kim Il-song.

Talks were held between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Kim Yong-nam, which passed off in atmosphere of fraternal friendship and comradely mutual understanding. The sides briefed each other about the progress of socialist construction in both countries and held a constructive exchange of views on matters concerning the future development of bilateral cooperation and on a wide range of international problems that are of mutual interest. Complete unity of views on the matters discussed was established.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the fruitful expansion and development of traditional Soviet-Korean relations in the spirit of the accords reached in the course of the meetings and negotiations in Moscow in October 1986 between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, equality and mutual respect. There was confirmation of mutual interest in further development of friendly ties in all spheres, and attention was drawn to the important significance of the Soviet-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance for supporting peace and strengthening security in the Far East.

Both sides acknowledged the importance of stable development of economic cooperation on the basis of genuine equality, mutual advantage and mutual responsibility of the sides for the purposes of successfuly resolving national economic tasks in both countries.

E.A. Shevardnadze briefed the guest on the progress of restructuring in the USSR, which is directed toward bringing about a qualitative renewal of society and further strengthening socialism in accord with the line put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress. The Korean minister wished the Soviet people fresh achievements in realizing the policy of restructuring and in carrying out large-scale radical transformations.

Kim Yong-nam related how the working people of the DPRK, having enthusiastically accepted the course laid down by the Sixth WPK Congress, are energetically struggling for the full victory of a socialism and the independent peaceful unification of the motherland. On behalf of all Soviet people E.A. Shevardnadze wished the Korean people fresh successes in accomplishing three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural, and in the struggle worthily to greet the 40th anniversary of the formation of the DPRK.

The sides were unanimous that the further intensification of the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and war, and in defense of peace and security throughout the world, would remain one of the most important tasks of the socialist states, the nonaligned countries and all the peace-loving peoples.

The ministers underlined the lasting significance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles for eradicating the threat of a nuclear war, and expressed the hope that the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow would yield new positive results in the field of nuclear disarmament and would facilitate the conclusion of a treaty between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments.

A high appraisal was given from the Korean side of the peaceful efforts made by the Soviet Union in creating an all-embracing international security system, building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, preventing the militarization of outer space and completely liquidating all types of nuclear and chemical weapons. High appraisal was also given of the constructive proposals of the Warsaw Pact member-states which were directed at defending peace and security in Europe and deepening trust between countries.

Particular attention was focused on the situation in the Korean peninsula, the Far East and the Asian region.

The Korean side expressed support for the proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok, aimed at ensuring security and improving the political climate in that part of the world, and at turning it into a zone of peace and cooperation, free from nuclear weapons and wars.

The Soviet side expressed support for the proposal, put forth by Kim Il-song, that a joint conference of representatives from the North and the South should be called to discuss such matters as mutual rejection of the holding of large-scale military maneuvers and the stage-by-stage reduction of the armed forces of each of the Korean sides, as well as other urgent aspects of the lowering of tension in Korea, considering that its implementation would make a substantial contribution toward easing tension in the Korean Peninsula and ensuring peace and security in Asia and the Pacific basin.

Maintaining the view that ending the U.S. military presence in South Korea could become a precondition for the restoration of peace in Korea and the accomplishment of its peaceful unification, the Soviet side declared itself in favor of the withdrawal from Korean territory of U.S. troops with all their armaments, including nuclear weapons, which have no justification of any kind for sitting in the south of the Korean peninsula.

In this connection, the USSR minister of foreign affairs underlined the great importance of the DPRK's proposal to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone of peace, the realization of which proposal would be a contribution to the cause of freeing mankind from the threat of nuclear war. He declared that in the event of a nuclear-free zone being established in Korea, the Soviet Union is ready, together with other nuclear powers, to guarantee the nuclear-free status of the Korean peninsula.

The ministers expressed the conviction that the increase in the U.S. Armed Forces in the Asia-Pacific region, including the Korean peninsula, on the pretext of a fabricated threat from the USSR and the DPRK, and the policy of turning Japan into a military power and South Korea into a nuclear bridgehead—which policy is intended to speed up the formation of a trilateral militarist alliance between Washington, Seoul and Tokyo—constitute a danger to peace and stability in this part of the globe.

The sides condemned the United States' practice of conducting large-scale joint maneuvers drawing in large military formations from South Korea, such as the "Team Spirit" maneuvers, since such actions are not only an open challenge to the Korean people and all peace-loving peoples, but can also be fraught with serious complications for the general situation in the Korean peninsula and in Asia.

The Soviet side affirmed anew that the USSR's principled position in regard to South Korea remains immutable. The Soviet side considers attempts to create a situation of "two Koreas" by means of "cross-recognition" of North and South, to be bankrupt.

The participants in the talks focused particular attention on deepening interaction in the international arena in the interests of securing lasting peace and security throughout the world.

The sides give a high appraisal of the proclamation of the southern part of the Pacific Ocean as a nuclear-free zone, considering that such a zone should be created in the region of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean should be turned into a zone of peace.

The ministers noted the growing role of the Nonaligned Movement and expressed their firm solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all the progressive forces of the world against imperialism, colonialism, racism, and Zionism, for peace, democracy, national independence, and the establishment of a new international economic order.

Both sides favor the speediest settlement to regional conflicts by political means, without the interference of external forces, in the interests of the cause of peace on the planet and of the peoples living in these regions.

The USSR and the DPRK approve the successful conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks and the signing of the corresponding agreements in Geneva and, proceeding from the conviction that Afghanistan's internal problems should be tackled by the Afghans themselves without external interference, state their full support for the policy of national reconciliation which is being conducted by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The sides are profoundly satisfied with the results of the DPRK foreign minister's official friendly visit to the Soviet Union and with the talks that were held, and point to their importance for the further deepening of mutual understanding and the strengthening of cooperation between the two countries and between the foreign ministries of the USSR and the DPRK.

On behalf of the DPRK Government, Kim Yong-nam, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the Administration Council, and DPRK foreign minister, handed E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, an invitation to pay an official visit to the DPRK. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Gorbachev Receives Japanese Socialist Doi

PM0905084788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 May 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report under the headline "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With Takako Doi"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev met at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee 6 May with a delegation from the Socialist Party of Japan and the chairman of that party's Central Executive Committee, Takako Doi.

The leadership of the two parties thus continued their dialogue which is regular in nature and has long-standing traditions.

The meeting developed into a lively discussion right from the very beginning. Gorbachev set the tone by showing an interest in the concerns of the Japanese people today and in what they think about the world situation, about the Soviet Union and about outlook for the Japanese-Soviet relationship.

The problems of the times were discussed from the positions of each party's responsibility to its nation and with account taken of the big possibilities inherent in Soviet-Japanese relations for positive processes in the world as a whole and for general security.

The interlocutors exchanged opinions about the tremendous interest demonstrated in the world in new thinking and about the positive results of the new Soviet foreign policy stemming from perestroyka.

In the issues of campaigning for a nuclear-free world, Gorbachev said, we take heed very attentively of the opinion of the Japanese people. They have perhaps the priority right to put this issue squarely on the agenda. Consistent compliance by Japan with its three non-nuclear principles is of exceptionally high, of international significance in this connection.

The conversation touched more than once on causes behind obstructions to improvement in the international situation. It was agreed, however, that the atmosphere in the world had changed markedly over recent time.

The world is changing, Gorbachev said. It is changing in the positive direction, although it is not yet possible to say that it has already left the crossroads where it has found itself since coming to face the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

Major, offbeat ideas and initiatives have caught on, finding broad support, and already impacted the process of rebuilding international relations.

The famous Delhi Declaration of 1986 was recalled as an important contribution to the philosophy of their renewal.

The interlocutors spoke highly also of practical steps to realize the new ideas, most notably the INF Treaty.

Doi asked about prospects for the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit and wished it success. She also requested that this meeting take account, if possible, of some problems which are especially worrying to the Japanese public, primarily the issue of sea-based nuclear arms.

Much attention was paid to the situation in Asia and the Pacific. The process has got under way also there, the thinking has started, Gorbachev noted. The trend is mounting of joint and equitable discussions of problems concerning economic, political and cultural cooperation. The ideas voiced in Vladivostok have found a use in these efforts as well.

Doi, for her part, voiced considerations which were received with interest and with readiness to study them concretely.

We are realists, Gorbachev said, and we realize the vastness, complexity and contradictoriness of that great part of the present-day world, which is to play an ever bigger role in the fate of human civilization. We now see a lot of problems there and many hotspots.

We are not inclined to speed up events and do not expect quick results. But one should not be discouraged by this. It is essential to make the first steps.

We believe that if all countries of the Asia-Pacific region and particularly such states belonging to it as China, the Soviet Union, India, the United States, Japan, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Australia, show wisdom worthy of their peoples, relationships in the region will be given a powerful impetus and a sound orientation. The principles on which they can be built are universal: The recognition of the right of everyone to a free choice, renunciation of interference and imposition of one's views, a balance of interests, the awareness that the time has come when not a single people, even the smallest one, will put up with diktat, and the realisation of the truth that, in the final analysis, we all belong to one and the same civilisation which calls for treating it as an indivisible entity.

In response to Takako Doi's remark about special responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States, Mikhail Gorbachev, while not denying that, emphasized that by no means everything depended on the two powers.

No one should stay aloof, "wash one's hands" of it, shaking off responsibility for developments in the world. Everyone should bear one's own load of responsibility. Otherwise, there would be no improvement of international relations.

In our days it is also of importance to take into account, he pointed out, that the peoples are less and less inclined to agree that their destiny should be decided for them and without them by governments. They more and more actively and directly intervene in foreign policy. This applies both to the Soviet Union and Japan.

The issue of settling regional conflicts (Cambodia, Afghanistan, Nicaragua) was touched upon. There was a common opinion that a settlement of regional conflicts is possible now only on the basis of an exclusively political approach to resolving contradictions and problems connected with these conflicts.

Japanese-Soviet relations held an important place in the conversation. On behalf of Soviet people, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed invariable respect for the Japanese people. We proceed from the view that Japan is our neighbour, he said. This is a reality which neither you nor we can avoid. It is a constant in our international policy. The development of relations with Japan is an asepct of our long-term policy.

Various things happened in the history of our relations, but it is high time to turn, at last, a new page. In the atmosphere when progress is made in the Soviet Union's relations with Western Europe, with Latin America and even, despite great difficulties, with the United States, it is totally abnormal when Japanese-Soviet relations remind one of a smoldering fire which smokes instead of burning brightly. It is pointless and unproductive to continue trying to prove that we can live without each other.

M.S. Gorbachev agreed with Doi that new facts should be accumulated for the development of relations and went along with a pronouncement that it is necessary to build such bricks for a Soviet-Japanese bridge that could be used also for the construction of good relations everywhere in the world.

Gorbachev emphasized two aspects in the Soviet approach: The readiness for improving relations on the basis of post-war realities and the groundlessness of the expectations that we will ever be trying to impose ourselves.

The Soviet people, the Soviet leadership are sincerely in favor of friendship with the Japanese people, with Japan. We shall not be making guesses where history can lead. If we are actively developing relations, striving to make them friendly, we shall have one kind of future. If we take a different road, we shall have another kind of future. It depends on this what role our relations will play in the world process, in ensuring universal security.

Let us begin rebuilding our relations rather than allowing them to resemble a skipping record which goes over the same snatch of a tune again and again instead of executing the whole song.

On Doi's initiative the conversation turned to Gorbachev's visit to Japan. What is important is the circumstances under which it could really become an impulse to a real shift in our relations.

Let's see our discussion as making the visit problem a topical matter, M.S. Gorbachev said. But we need to know the standpoint of the Japanese Government and its understanding of the circumstances connected with the visit.

Complete clarity about the stands is essential. Clarity about disagreements is important to making headway as well.

Gorbachev expressed satisfaction with the meeting: The discussion was one of substance, candor and goodwill and demonstrated that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Party of Japan share the same anxieties in the principal issues of world significance and we are not inclined to dramatize the differences.

Our parties are independent, they act in different conditions and so the differences are only natural. We are prepared to act in the spirit of dialogue and cooperation in the future as well.

Participating in the meeting were A.F. Dobrynin, T. Okada, K. Sato, S. Iwatare, N. Kosaka, K. Igarashi, A. Kasahara, M. Mijuta, and S. Aoki.

Part of the talks was held in limited company.

Antiwar Treaty With U.S.

OW0605150888 Tokyo KYODO in English 1439 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 6 KYODO—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said Friday he would be inclined to sign an antiwar treaty with the United States, depending on the U.S. response. He made the remark when he met visiting Japanese opposition leader Takako Doi and she urged him to conclude such a treaty with the United States, according to Doi's aides.

The chairwoman of the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] raised the proposal for a Soviet-U.S. pact after she stressed that both the Soviet Union and the United States bear a great responsibility for world nuclear disarmament and weapons control.

Gorbachev told Doi that he is taking a positive view toward his upcoming summit with U.S. President Ronald Reagan from May 29. But, unless Moscow and Washington can agree on Sea-Launched Cruise Missiles (SLCM) and the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, a treaty for cutting strategic nuclear arms by half could not be concluded at the Moscow summit, Gorbachev told Doi. Gorbachev said if there is no agreement on the ABM Treaty, the danger of war will expand to outer space. He said he believes that accord on the SLCM issue is possible. But the U.S. side has not yet agreed to it, citing the difficulties of inspection, he said. The Soviet Union has the technology for such inspections and is now making a proposal to the Americans, Gorbachev told Doi. Moscow and Washington have reached accord on pegging an upper limit on SLCM's, he said.

A plenary meeting, with other delegates from the Soviet Communist Party and JSP present, lasted for an hour and 15 minutes, with the Gorbachev-Doi tete-a-tete following, the Japanese sources said.

While Gorbachev showed his readiness for an antiwar pact with the U.S., he also pointed to a basic agreement between the Soviets and the Americans reached during the 1985 Soviet-U.S. summit. Gorbachev said that, at the summit, the two sides agreed that there would be no winner in a nuclear war, that the Soviet Union and the U.S. should not get involved in a war and neither side should seek superiority.

As for Japan-Soviet relations, Gorbachev said Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze would visit Japan this autumn and he asked Doi to convey the schedule to Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, the JSP sources said. Gorbachev said Moscow's basic stance on Japan-Soviet relations is that the Soviets acknowledge Japan as a neighbor but have no intention to force friendship on the Japanese, according to the sources. He pointed out that there are signs of improving Japan-Soviet relations both internally and internationally. But Moscow does not force Japan (toward the improved ties), he said. However, he wanted the Japanese to see the Soviet Union as changing and taking a realistic approach. Gorbachev asked Doi to convey to the Japanese that the Soviets respect Japan as a neighbor, stressing that a bridge should be built from both ends, the sources said.

The plenary meeting was joined by JSP Vice Chairman Toshiharu Okada, Soviet party Secretariat member Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, and others.

Japanese Island Claim Rejected

OW0705011488 Tokyo KYODO in English 0104 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 6 KYODO—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev Friday rejected Japan's territorial claim to four islands east of Hokkaido which have been under Soviet occupation following World War II. Gorbachev was responding to Takako Doi, visiting chairwoman of Japan's top opposition Japan Socialist Party, who asked for the return of the islands to Japan.

During their talks held at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee headquarters, Gorbachev told Doi that the 1956 Japan-Soviet joint declaration normalizing their diplomatic relations called for their peace treaty to be concluded before the Soviet Union returns the Habomai islands and Shikotan island to Japan. The Soviet leader said the Japanese Government is to blame for not having concluded the treaty.

Doi also proposed holding an international conference to ease tensions and foster trust in the Asian-Pacific area and opening the Soviet Far East City of Vladivostok to improve Japan-Soviet relations. Gorbachev supported Doi's conference proposal and agreed to begin consultations to hold the conference.

The Soviet leader also said he was planning to open Vladivostok in the near future.

Doi To Convey Gorbachev Messages

OW0705115788 Tokyo KYODO in English 0902 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 6 KYODO—Doi later told reporters at a Moscow hotel that she will convey Gorbachev's wishes to improve relations with Japan to Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita when she returns to Tokyo next week. She said she will also tell Takeshita that Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze intends to visit Tokyo this fall for regular foreign ministerial consultations with his Japanese counterpart.

Doi said Gorbachev hopes to conclude a permanent nonwar treaty with the United States and establish a nonnuclear zone in Northeast Asia and the northwestern Pacific region. The Soviet leader also hopes to restrict naval activities of each nation in the Sea of Japan and the Pacific area, Doi said. She said Gorbachev pledged to propose these to U.S. President Ronald Reagan in their summit meeting here starting May 29.

Gorbachev Meets Japanese Reporters

OW0605123588 Tokyo KYODO in English 1213 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 6 KYODO—Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev said Friday the Soviet Union wants to inject more dynamism in bilateral relations with Japan. Gorbachev, who made the remark to Japanese reporters before meeting with Japanese opposition leader Takako Doi, also indicated he wants to visit Japan. "We are definitely not setting any precondition," Gorbachev said when asked whether he has plans to visit Japan. "We are ready to cooperate, since we are ready to cooperate, that means we are ready to go," he said.

Japan has hoped that a visit by the top Soviet leader would help ease strains between the two countries, but Gorbachev has yet to make a definite commitment on when such a trip would be made.

Gorbachev said he wants to see more dynamic relations between the two countries, in political dialogue as well as other fields. "We are neighbors, and we must behave as neighbors whatever happens," he said in calling for better relations between the countries. Apart from political dialogue, Gorbachev cited cultural exchange, science and technology, and trade as areas where the two countries can develop more dynamic ties.

Japan and the Soviet Union have been locked in a territorial dispute stemming from the continuing Soviet occupation of four Japanese-claimed islands east of Hokkaido.

Gorbachev first indicated 2 years ago his willingness to visit Japan. However, the prospect of the trip dimmed in July 1987, when he accused Japan of stirring up an anti-Soviet campaign following the controversial sale by a Japanese firm of sensitive technology to the Soviet Union.

Shevardnadze Receives Representative Itoyama

LD0705153088 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, today received Eitaro Itoyama, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the House of Representatives of the Japanese parliament, deputy from the Liberal Democratic Party, at his request. He is in Moscow on the invitation of the USSR Parliamentary Group.

During the talk, that passed in a candid and businesslike atmosphere, there was a substantive exchange of views on pressing international issues and questions of Soviet-Japanese relations.

Eitaro Itoyama commended the process to reshape fundamentally all spheres of social life under way in the USSR, the Soviet leadership's approach to foreign and domestic policy issues from the positions of realistic thinking. He expressed the hope for a success of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on slashing by half strategic offensive armaments.

The Japanese guest underscored the growing importance of relations between the USSR and Japan, stated the need to find ways to improve them. Simultaneously, he mentioned Japan's territorial claims to the USSR as a condition for concluding a peace treaty between the two countries.

Eduard Shevardnadze said that people in the Soviet Union feel profound respect for Japan and its people. We want the Soviet-Japanese relations to match the place and role of our states in the world community, to pace the positive changes taking place on the international scene. To this end it is necessary that the rich potential of cooperation which the USSR and Japan possess in a variety of areas, among them, economic, scientific, technical and cultural, be put into play in full measure.

As to the so-called territorial issue, the Soviet side regards it as solved on the respective historical and international legal basis. The Soviet Union has a lot of territory but not any that we do not need.

Both sides expressed the view in favour of further extending mutual contacts, among them those along theparliamentary line, forging interaction between the USSR and Japan in the interests of ensuring peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region and all over the world.

During the meeting Eitaro Itoyama handed over to Eduard Shevardnadze a message by Shintaro Abe, general secretary of the Liberal Democratic Party, former foreign minister of Japan.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnam Releases 22 Chinese Fishermen

LD0505105888 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Hanoi May 5 TASS—Guided by the respect for traditional friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples, the Vietnamese Government took a decision to release 22 Chinese fishermen who were detained on March 12 this year during the illegal fishing in Vietnam's territorial waters. They were granted the possibility to return home. The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry informed the Chinese ambassador to Vietnam on this decision.

The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry reaffirmed the demand that the Chinese side should immediately hand over nine Vietnamese fishermen and a pilot, kept in China, for reunion with their families.

CPSU Briefed on Razumovskiy Visit to Vietnam

BK0705074988 Hanoi VNA in English 0712 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 7—The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee at its regular session on May 5 was briefed on the Vietnam visit from April 24-29 by a CPSU delegation led by G.P. Razumovskiy, alternate Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The CPSU Politburo heard a report an the delegation's meetings and talks with General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee Nguyen Van Linh and other Vietnamese party and state leaders. It emphasized the importance of the further development of the comprehensive cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV.

Gilashvili-Led Delegation Arrives in Singapore

LD0505152788 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, May 5 TASS—A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies led by Pavel Gilashvili, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, currently on a tour of ASEAN countries, today revisited Singapore on their way home.

The delegation met with the deputy speaker of the local parliament, Tan Su Kun [name as received], and other members of the insular Republic's legislature.

In the conversation, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, the sides exchanged views on a broad range of subjects of mutual interest.

The Soviet visitors informed their Singapore colleagues about changes taking place in the USSR about its foreign policy and shared experience of work at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

They invited a delegation from Singapore's Parliament to pay a return visit to the Soviet Union.

The Singapore side described the activity of the country's Parliament and dwelt on the role of legislators in shaping bilateral relations.

Contacts between parliamentarians from the two countries, said Tan Su Kun, were extremely important for deepening understanding of each other's positions and problems, which was a necessary condition for broadening contacts in various fields.

Singapore and the Soviet Union had been linked for many years by good relations, but there were possibilities that could yet be used.

The deputy speaker described the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit as very useful.

Commentary Views Resolution of Cambodia Issue

OW0605142988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 5 May 88

[Petrov commentary]

[Text] At present, many controversies surround the common points between the Afghan and Cambodian situations. Some of the many views on this question are almost identical, while others are poles apart. Despite differences in their views, the people unanimously agree that the road paved in Geneva for the solution of the Afghan question is bound to affect the situation in and around Cambodia. Station commentator Petrov writes in this connection:

I want to quote Singapore Foreign Minister Dhanabalan, who made a statement before leaving for a meeting of ASEAN and European Community foreign ministers held in Dusseldorf, West Germany. He said: The solution of the Afghanistan question, including the planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, will surely affect the solution of the Cambodian question. He welcomed Vietnam's role in holding a dialogue with ASEAN countries and hoped that the dialogue would continue.

Why did I mention the Singapore foreign minister's statement? Because for many years, the Singapore Government has always taken an ultraright and hard-headed stand whenever the Cambodian question is discussed. Now we notice that this stand has somewhat softened. Without the beneficial effect of the Geneva agreements on the Afghan question, this change would not have been possible. Now Singapore favors dialogue with Vietnam without reservation. By the way, it should be mentioned that, prior to the dialogue, it has become possible for the four parties of Cambodia to hold an unofficial meeting in Jakarta. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas more precisely said that the solution of the Afghan issue is interrelated with the Cambodian situation. He noted that the experience of the Geneva talks and the Geneva agreements can help the constructive solution of the Cambodian question in many aspects. The Indonesian Foreign Minister said: The important thing is that no other practical way can be found to solve this question other than the peaceful approach.

Even the most extremist and belligerent elements on the Cambodian question have to admit that after the Geneva agreements, they can no longer stick to the old method of doing things. This is clear enough. We should know that resorting to the same old approach will mean going against the mass media that widely favor the Geneva agreements on the Afghan question. As to the Soviet Union, we regard the signing of the Geneva agreements as an example for instilling hope and solving regional crises by following new political ideas.

In summing up the Afghan experience, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze recently said: The policy of national reconciliation has transcended the boundary of one country. Here we refer to the Cambodian question. The Soviet people welcome dialogue on the Cambodian question. However, the problems to be solved through the dialogue will be the most difficult ones in Asia.

Moscow Comments on U.S. Bases in Philippines

OW0705004188 Moscow Radio and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] To retain U.S. military bases in the Philippines is a major task in Washington's current foreign policy. These bases are of great importance in the U.S. military strategy for the Asia-Pacific region. Therefore, on the eve of the talks between the Philippines and the United States on the future of these bases, the U.S. Government had extensively carried out its propaganda activities to emphasize its need to continue its military presence in the Philippines. Beginning in 1987, Washington's lying experts have started to spread rumors that the Soviet Union is providing the rebels in Tamil, New Zealand, and the Philippines with weapons. The liars on the other side of the Pacific Ocean are not content with the rumors they spread on the Soviet Union supplying weapons to the rebels. They also talked about China supplying the rebels with submachine guns, because the expansion of China's influence in the Asia-Pacific region will make the United States feel uneasy. In order to retain its military bases in the Philippines, the United States has said that the issue of troops is of particular importance. It is for this reason that the leaders in the Philippines have to refute the rumors spread by the United States. For example, Minister of National Defense Ramos said that the Philippine Government can solve the issue of rebel troops without the U.S. bases. During the talks, Foreign Minister Manglapus also said: The U.S. bases are of no help in dealing with saboteurs because the saboteurs are in the Philippines. They do not come from abroad. The guided missiles aimed at some targets in foreign countries are of no help to our struggle. He also said: There are no enemies outside the Philippines—the enemies are in the Philippines. Political observers believe that Manglapus is addressing his remarks to U.S. Ambassador Platt in Manila because the latter is trying hard to talk about the so-called military threat from the Soviet Union. Prior to the Manila talks, there have been many anti-Soviet rumors saying that the Soviet Union is vigorously expanding its bases in Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay and that the Soviet Union can send out planes from these bases to bomb the Philippines. The U.S. Information Agency also fabricated lies saying that the number of Soviet warships entering the ports of the Asian countries nearly doubled that of the U.S. warships. It also claimed that the number of Soviet naval vessels in the Asia-Pacific region is four times that of the U.S. naval vessels and spread rumors that the Soviet warships and airplanes are intruding into the territorial waters and airspace of the Philippines and other ASEAN countries.

Admiral Sidorov, Soviet deputy naval commander, spoke on the actual situation in the region not long ago. Our station broadcast excerpts of his speech in February this year. We would like to quote some of his remarks again. He pointed out: The Soviet Union has never expanded its military strength in the Asia-Pacific region. On the contrary, the number of Soviet submarines with guided missiles has actually decreased. The number of Soviet-flagged warships entering Cam Ranh Bay has also dropped.

In conclusion, we wish to point out: The issue of retaining U.S. bases is a matter which concerns the United States and the Philippines only. We will not interfere with their talks. However, the Soviet Union is, in principle, opposed to any effort to set up any military base on the territory of another country. In the meantime, the Soviet Union believes that no country should be allowed to smear the Soviet Union to cover up its own militarist ambition the way Washington has done. In his speech at Vladivostok and his talk with the chief editor of the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA, Gorbachev had clearly elucidated the Soviet foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific region. He said: In this region, the Soviet Union will always sincerely implement its peaceful foreign policy without any selfish interest.

Australian Communist Group Ends USSR Visit

PM0505152188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of leading workers from the Association for the Unity of Communists of Australia headed by S. Sharkey, its national secretary, was in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee on 14-28 April.

The delegation was received at the CPSU Central Committee International and Organizational Party Work Departments, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and had meetings at the AUCCTU, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and the Youth Organizations Committee, and with Soviet economist scientists and social scientists. The Australian Communists went on a trip to Riga and Minsk and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises, scientific and educational establishments, and the memorial complexes at Salaspils and Khatyn.

The visitors from Australia stated that they had seen for themeselves that the conditions of democratization and glasnost under which restructuring is taking place are giving a powerful boost to the development by renewal of Soviet society. They wished Soviet Communists success in preparing and holding the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Statement on Refugees Cited

LD0905102088 Moscow TASS in English 1044 GMT 9 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 9 TASS—The BAKHTAR news agency has circulated the text of a statement by a spokesman for the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Recently, the statement says, a spokesman for the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the Afghan side did not ostensibly create conditions for the return of Afghan refugees home. This unfounded assertion is aimed at misleading the public opinion and at putting new obstacles to the return of the repatriates.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, points out the statement, is taking measures under the provisions of the bilateral agreement, reached in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan, on voluntary return of refugees. Afghans both those who are in the country and outside it have been informed of the measures. The return of more than 100,000 Afghans to their native land is the fact which speaks for itself.

In order to facilitate the returning process, points for the crossing of the border have been determined, centres for meeting repatriates have been set up, and transportation means to bring them to places of permanent resident have been prepared. State bodies have been given appropriate instructions in this respect.

Under the bilateral agreement on refugees, the Republic of Afghanistan stated its readiness to participate in the setting up of mixed Afghan-Pakistani commissions for regularization of and control over the process of refugees' return. But the Pakistani side has not made any steps in this direction so far, the statement points out.

In accordance with Article 6 of the Afghan-Pakistan bilateral agreement on refugees, the Afghan side signed an agreement with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Under the agreement the UNHCR will soon open its mission on the territory of Afghanistan. However, Pakistan, despite all its assertions, has not signed such an agreement up to now.

We hope that Pakistan, instead of stepping up hostile propaganda, will take necessary measures for the return of Afghans home, thereby implementing the Geneva agreements, emphasizes the statement by a spokesman for the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Contingent Commander Cited on Afghan Withdrawal

PM0905075788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report: "The Last Summer. Soviet Internationalist Servicemen Prepare To Return Home"]

[Excerpt] Kabul, May [no date as published]—[Passage omitted] Leaving emotions aside, the withdrawal of Soviet units home is a complex operation. It is conducted in conditions of combat operations and, in terms of its scale, is beyond comparison with the operation in October 1986 when six regiments returned home. This must not be underestimated.

This idea was stressed in a conversation I had with the commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in the Republic of Afghanistan.

"We are purposefully preparing for our return," the commander said. "First of all, we have to hand over the fixed military encampments to the Afghan side. To ensure that our friends can properly look after this vast property, we are helping them to train specialists for their maintenance—sanitation engineers, diesel engine technicians, communications specialists, electricians. It is obvious that part of the encampment facilities will be assigned by the new owners to strictly civilian purposes—hospitals, schools, cultural institutions.

"On departing, our units are helping to heal the wounds inflicted by the war. Let [me] mention just a few facts. In Tashkurghan our units have repaired roads, built three bridges, drilled wells for the population's water supply, and installed a radio network in the town. The Gardeyz-Ghazni road is back in operation. We are building a powerline in the north of Helmand Province—the villagers will receive electricity this month. An asphalt and concrete plant was commissioned in Qandahar—the city center is now being asphalted.

"But combat operations are still continuing," the commander stressed. "Armed opposition formations are striving to wreck the reconciliation process and complicate the implementation of the Geneva accords. They continue to organize explosions, wage fierce antigovernment and anti-Soviet propaganda, and intimidate the population. On 26 April, the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution, insurgents sharply intensified their fire against cities and other population centers.

"The extremist groupings," the general continued, "still pursue their old task of accumulating weapons inside Afghanistan and setting up dumps and bases. They are trying to pull out weapons stocks from Peshawar and dozens of other centers and to concentrate them on Afghan territory close to the border with Iran.

"The troops' mood is good. People realize the complexity of the combat task linked with the start of the units' withdrawal. And they are prepared to act as befits internationalist servicemen...."

I saw for myself how correct the commander's assessment was when I visited the motorized rifle servicemen. A group of servicemen transferred to the reserve were leaving the garrison for home. Wearing full dress uniform, with the invariable briefcase in hand, they were easily distinguishable from their fellow servicemen. No matter whom you talked with, each one of them regrets having to leave now rather than withdrawing from Afghanistan together with his friends.

I must admit that this mood did not surprise me. You always come across it whenever you visit our garrisons. And the motivation is nothing else but the feeling of closeness with the comrades, the frontline brotherhood, the desire to shoulder your full share of whatever the situation places on the shoulders of others.

"How are you feeling?", I asked departees Battery First Sergeant Pavel Prokopchuk and First Sergeant Andrey Otchichenko, platoon deputy commander.

"We feel right: We've served with honor. We are worried about the guys; they still have to face the combat march to the border—700 km and more. We are sure that they'll get back without losses. But we would have felt better if we'd been with them...."

Pavel a worker from Rostov's "Gigant" Sovkhoz, where his parents live, is taking a "For Combat Merit" medal home from Afghanistan. By the time he gets home, another one will be waiting for him—"For Valor." Before joining the Army, Andrey graduated from a power industry technical college. He has been awarded the Order of the Red Star.

"What are your thoughts on departure?"

"I remember the dead comrades," Pavel replied. "Sergeant Aleksandr Baranov was my first mentor. Wounded, he fell down the face of a rock. Private Sergey Blintsov, who was blown up with the armored personnel carrier. I'll never forget them...." [passage omitted]

Afghan Militia Rout Antigovernment Group

LD0505151288 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 5 TASS—The national reconciliation policy and other steps by the Afghan Government to achieve peace and calm throughout Afghanistan are bringing ever more palpable results. Flow of refugees returning from abroad is growing every day. Local authorities are giving them material assistance and help with finding accomodation and jobs.

Opponents of the peace process in the country, meanwhile, are continuing their armed forays, but the Afghan Army, backed by the population, is issuing them a befitting rebuff.

Meeting a request from local people, Sarandoy (People's Militia) units in Konduz province have conducted an operation against an armed anti-government group and routed it, seizing large amounts of weapons and ammunition.

Security authorities in Kabul, BAKHTAR news agency reported, have thwarted a planned crime by extremists who have carried several mines disguised as children's toys into one of the city's hospitals.

Over the past few days, 1,100 young people have come to induction centers in the Afghan capital, volunteering to serve in the Army. All in all, some 2,700 youths in Kabul have offered to join the Army over the past month.

Sarandoy officials in Pul-i-Khumri District in Baghlan Province have distributed prime essentials sent in as fraternal aid from the Soviet Union among the families of people killed in fighting to defend the gains of the April Revolution.

The same kind of aid has been given to families in one of the Kabul districts.

Further Reportage on Najibullah-Gandhi Talks

Najibullah Interview

LD0505200588 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] New Delhi May 5 TASS—In an interview with the Indian weekly BLITZ, President Najibullah has emphasized that Afghanistan confidently looks into the future, regarding the achievement of the Geneva agreements as an opportunity to strengthen its national sovereignty and freedom.

The Afghans who found themselves outside their native land as well as all people of the country who have not abandoned it in the period of ordeals have got tired of the war imposed upon them. Positive changes in the Afghanistan situation, which have been evidenced by the agreements reached in Geneva will undoubtedly promote the return of refugees to Afghanistan. These processes have already begun, the Afghan leader said. He pointed out that the forthcoming withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan territory would be an event of immense importance.

Najibullah resolutely refuted the conjectures the authors of which maintain that the government which is now in office in the country will possibly collapse soon. We have no fear of the forthcoming political changes in the life of Afghanistan. On the contrary, we are ready for the formation of a coalition cabinet of ministers which will become a government of national reconciliation. It will consist of the leaders of opposition circles, leaders of emigres, and intellectuals, he stated. At the same time the results of the policy of national reconciliation should compel the leaders of anti-government groups which are now hostile to Afghanistan to abandon the old course and to take a realistic and constructive stand.

The president gave a high appraisal of the unselfish assistance rendered by India to the struggle of the people of Afghanistan for its freedom and independence, emphasizing that the results of cooperation between the two countries, the cooperation which has considerably grown following the April Revolution, is a vivid illustration of the strong ties of Indian-Afghan friendship based on equality, mutual understanding, and respect for the interests of each other.

Talks End 6 May

LD0605183988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 6 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Indo-Afghan summit talks ended in Delhi today. At a final meeting, in which all the members of the official Afghan and Indian delegations participated, President Najibullah and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi again examined the whole range of issues connected with implementing the Geneva agreements.

[Levchenko, identified by caption] The talks were mainly devoted to expanding economic and cultural links between the two countries to assist the people of Afghanistan in establishing a peaceful and creative life. The Indian side confirmed its support for the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and assured President Najibullah that the endeavors by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan to assert the status of its country as an independent, nonaligned and neutral state meets with full support from the Indian public and Government. Noting the special significance of this visit, Indian observers point out that it will without doubt help to reinforce the authority of the Afghan leadership, which is consistently pursuing a policy of national reconciliation.

Great interest was displayed in the Indo-Afghan summit meeting during a news conference held in Delhi today. Addressing the journalists, President Najibullah stressed that the Afghan Government intends to adhere firmly to the accord reached in Geneva, and expects the Pakistani side to keep to the agreements just as consistently. He noted in particular that the path of a political settlement of the problems around Afghanistan is in line with the spirit and principles of the historic Delhi Declaration, signed in November 1986 by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. President Najibullah said that the Soviet Union and India are the Afghan people's most sincere and reliable friends.

Answering questions from journalists, the Afghan president expressed great satisfaction over the results of the talks in Delhi and his conversations with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. These conversations, he said, confirmed the unity or proximity of views of the two countries' leaders on topical international problems, including Asian problems. This visit, President Najibullah said has further reinforced the traditional friendly links between Afghanistan and India. Replying to a question about the prospects for the democratic peace process in Afghanistan, President Najibullah stated that the path to peace, mutual understanding and concord is open for all Afghans who sincerely desire to preserve a united and independent Afghanistan.

[Announcer] Later today the Afghan president flew home.

Najibullah News Conference

LD0605184588 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] New Delhi May 6 TASS—The Indian-Afghan top-level talks wound up here today.

Following the talks, Najibullah gave a press conference. He expressed full satisfaction with the outcome of his visit to India and emphasized that the talks with Rajiv Gandhi brought about a still greater mutual understanding between the two countries, an accord to coordinate their efforts in tackling national, regional and international problems.

Our two countries have always been good neighbours, maintained and continue to maintain close relations in the political, economic and social fields, Najibullah said. The talks confirmed that India and Afghanistan would continue to develop cooperation to the benefit of their peoples.

Najibullah said that both Afghanistan and Pakistan assumed great commitments under the Geneva agreements and assured that, for its part, Afghanistan would sincerely fulfil all of their provisions. He expressed the hope that Pakiistan would abide by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan as it is envisioned by the agreements.

The Afghan leader noted that the understandings attained in Geneva were congruent with the Delhi Declaration signed by the Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and were a logical continuation of the political line charted by the leaders of the USSR and India.

The president spoke especially warmly about the Soviet Union's policy. He emphasized that Soviet soldiers gave an inestimable aid to the Afghan people in the defence of their sovereignty, territorial integrity and freedom.

Najibullah recalled that the Soviet Union and the United States are the guarantors of the scrupulous implementation of the Geneva accords, which, as he put it, should ensure conditions for establishing lasting peace in the region and contribute to national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

The president expressed the hope that Afghanistan would be strong, non-aligned and neutral state committed to peace and maintaining friendly relations with all of its neighbours, with all Moslem states, with all countries of the world irrespective of their social system, relations which are based on mutual respect and non-interference in each other's affairs.

Responding to questions by correspondents, the president said that the groups now operating in Pakistan can be divided into extremists and moderates. A common language can always be found with those who think realistically and seek peace in the country. The Afghan leader expressed the hope that the groups which now oppose the lawful Government of Afghanistan, elected by the Afghan people, would realize that their attempts to solve the problem, created by them, militarily are futile. And if they continue to fight, the Armed Forces of Afghanistan will deal a crushing blow to them, he said.

In conclusion the Afghan president said that he had unforgettable impressions left of the visit to India and the talks with Rajiv Gandhi who promised to give all possible aid and support in solving the problems faced by Afghanistan.

Najibullah left for the homeland today. A ceremony to see off the high Afghan guest was held in the Presidential Palace. It was attended by Rajiv Gandhi, Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman and members of the Indian Government.

Talks Bring 'Fresh Impetus'

LD0705093988 Moscow TASS in English 0929 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 7 TASS—The Politburo of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, at its meeting here, has highly assessed the results of President Najibullah's visit to India, BAKHTAR news agency reported today.

It was noted that meetings with the Indian leaders were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

The Politburo considered issues of the further expansion of Afghan-Indian relations in the economic and cultural spheres.

Najibullah's official friendly visit to India would undoubtedly promote bilateral mutually beneficial cooperation, the newspaper KABUL TIMES pointed out today.

The meetings and talks in India would help further strengthen traditional friendship between Afghanistan and India and give a fresh impetus to mutual cooperation in all areas.

'Milestone' in Relations

LD0805144988 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 8 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 8 TASS—The official visit to India of President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah has been a historical milestone along the road of further development of relations between the two countries. It lent a fresh impetus to consolidation of political, economic and cultural relations for the good of the peoples of Afghanistan and India, the BAKHTAR news agency says in its commentary.

The warm reception accorded to the Afghan delegation by the Indian leadership testifies to the strength of the ties of friendship and fraternity which bind India and Afghanistan. The New Delhi negotiations revealed the identity of views on questions of political settlement of regional conflicts and world problems.

After the signing of the Geneva agreements which prepared ground for cessation of war and interference into Afghanistan's internal affairs, the commentary notes, India started paying special attention to practical implementation of the agreements reached and promoting realisation of the national reconciliation policy. India supports the efforts of the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan aimed at attaining unity, safeguarding peace and settling the Afghanistan situation, and it welcomes formation of a coalition government on a broad social basis.

Najibullah Returns to Kabul

LD0605174788 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 6 TASS—President Najibullah of Afghanistan returned to Kabul today after an official friendly visit to India. [Moscow TASS in English at 1710 GMT on 6 May transmits a "corrected version" of the preceding item that omits the word "friendly" and is otherwise identical]

Practical Deeds of Reconciliation Cited

LD0805145488 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 8 May 88

["Afghanistan: Successes of Policy of Reconciliation"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul May 8 TASS—"The policy of national reconciliation is no longer limited to wishes and slogans. It is manifested in practical deeds", the BAKHTAR news agency was told by secretary of the Central Committee of Afghanistan's Democratic Organization of Youth, Mohammad Salim. "Our youth is faced with the task of promoting the implementation of humanitarian aims of that policy, sparing no efforts".

"It is clear to all that the agreements signed in Geneva ensure the establishment of peace in Afghanistan, and that we can hope that the bloodshed can be ended soon", said Taj Bibi, a resident of Kabul. "My husband was killed in a battle against extremists, and I now have to raise five children alone. There are many women who have the same lot, and I don't want the same fate to befall many more women. I am given aid by the state. I urge all Afghans to support the Geneva accords", she said.

Meetings of local people were held in a number of districts of the Kabul Province. They were organized by the Kabul Province's committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. During the meetings, representatives of the party bodies explained the importance of the Geneva accords for the destinies of Afghanistan.

Another 192 repatriates returned from Pakistan to Nangarhar and Paktia Provinces in the past day. The state continues preparing the conditions for meeting compatriots returning home. 23 Hotels, ten camps for meeting repatriates and 27 centres with a total number of 10,000 places have been created in border provinces. All of them have the necessary medical equipment for aid to those returning to Afghanistan and have skilled medical personnel. The state has also allocated 50 million afghani to be spent on transportation of repatriates to the places where they will settle permanently.

31 kindergartens for children of workers of industrial enterprises opened in Afghanistan in the current year. There are altogether 214 kindergartens in Afghanistan. They are attended by some 19,000 children.

Extremists opened fire on a civilian bus when it was entering the city of Asadabad, the administrative centre of Konarha Province. Four people were killed and 12 were wounded. The wounded were taken to a hospital.

At the request of the local population and the commission for reconciliation, units of the Afghan Army have carried out an operation to eliminate a large group of extremists in Paktia Province.

IZVESTIYA Reporters Ambushed in Afghanistan

LD0505142788 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—A photo correspondent of the newspaper IZVESTIYA has been killed while on a brief tour of duty in Afghanistan.

IZVESTIYA reported today that a convoy of vehicles in one of which were Aleksandr Sekretarev and his colleague, another IZVESTIYA photographer, Sergey Sevruk, was ambushed on the way to Salang.

Sevruk was gravely wounded.

"In that convoy, there were more casualties in killed and wounded," the paper said, describing the incident. "And not only there. Grief from Afghanistan has visited many a home in our country.

"In bidding farewell to Sasha (Sekretarev), and expressing concern over the health of Sergey, whose last assignment was to describe the withdrawal of Soviet troops, we recall all who have not returned. All by name."

Status of Indian Satellite Updated

LD0605134988 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] New Delhi May 6 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Kapustin writes:

The first Indian remote sensing satellite IRS-1A is successfully working in near-earth orbit. A spokesman for the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) said that the satellite put in orbit on March 17 by a Soviet "Voskhod" booster launched from Baykonur, has already flown 80 times over Indian territory and relayed to the Indian research organisations over 12,500 pictures of the surface of different parts of India. All the subsystems aboard the spacecraft are working in a normal way. The cameras aboard the satellite permit taking excellent photos of the earth's surface in three spectral regions with the resolution of up to 36m.

The PTI [Press Trust of India] news agency reports that the effective performance of the IRS-1A in orbit is an important milestone in the implementation of the Indian national space program whose main goal is to use space technology for solving the urgent problems of the country's social and economic development. Satellites of the IRS series are an important component of a national system—now being set up—for the development of natural resources, called upon to contribute to an optimal development of farming and arboriculture, water resources, tapping of mineral resources, study of soil, control of draughts and floods, and the development of oceanography.

Palestinian Communist Leader Interviewed

PM0605134188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 88 Second Edition p 5

["Our Interview" in Damascus with Mahir al-Sharif, member of the Palestine Communist Party Central Committee, by Yu. Glukhov under the general heading: "Unbowed"; date not given]

[Text] Beirut, May—The chronicle of this heroic uprising is not yet ended. Even now, almost 5 months after it began, the Israeli military has not succeeded in bringing the occupied Arab territories under its control. The chain reaction of demonstrations, general strikes, and campaigns of disobedience and refusal to cooperate with the occupiers is continuing. Despite the bloody repression and the economic and news blockades, the Palestinians' resistance has not been broken. The whole situation in the Near East is being looked at in a new way through the prism of events. This is the opinion of Mahir al-Sharif, member of the Palestine Communist Party Central Committee, whom I met in Damascus.

The first most important result of the uprising is the revival of the Palestinians' confidence in their own strength, M. al-Sharif said. The conviction has emerged that, by stepping up the struggle, we can secure the realization of our national demands.

A high degree of solidarity with the Palestinians' struggle, support for their cause on the part of progressive forces in Israel itself headed by Israeli Communists, and solidarity with them on the part of Israel's Arab citizens have been demonstrated. This is a factor of special concern to Tel Aviv. According to M. al-Sharif, the uprising has awakened the energy of the masses and given a boost to the Arab national liberation movement. You could say that it is gradually developing into a people's revolution in which all sections and classes of the Palestinian population are participating.

The events have shown the Palestinian people's cohesion around the PLO, the chief guiding force of the uprising, M. al-Sharif pointed out. New organizational forms have emerged—local people's committees. Operating within their framework are subcommittees and commissions to supply the population with food, provide blood donor assistance, collect medical supplies, organize demonstrations, and so forth. There is a national committee to direct the uprising, on which the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Communist Party, religious circles, women, and young people are represented.

The uprising has once again demonstrated who is a friend and who is an enemy of the Palestinians, the Palestinian Communist said. The USSR and the socialist countries have shown themselves to be genuine allies of the Palestinian people's liberation struggle. On the other hand, the United States has aided and abetted the crimes perpetrated by the Israeli military.

The development of events has prompted Washington to take emergency measures. The Americans are proposing a rehashed Camp David version of a settlement, M. al-Sharif said. But the uprising did not begin for the sake of the administrative autonomy which the United States is trying to impose, ignoring the PLO and the Palestinians' rights.

The uprising has shown the top priority of the Palestinian problem in a Near East settlement and its paramount importance to the Arab world. The attempts to divert the

Arabs' attention away from resolving the Near East conflict have been frustrated. The next stage is to convene an international conference on the Near East with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the interested sides, including the PLO.

Tunisia's Baccouche on Palestinians' Protection

PM0605135688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent S. Filatov report: "Protection Needed"]

[Text] Algiers, 5 May—Tunisia is now studying the possibility of ensuring protection for Palestinian representatives on its territory, H. Baccouche, the country's prime minister, stated. He did not specify precisely what measures will be carried out, but indicated that the need for such measures arises from the killing of Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], one of the leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement, by Israeli commands in a suburb of the republic's capital.

The Arab countries have a duty to protect the Palestinian revolution against Israeli state terrorism, H. Baccouche said. Tunisia, which accepted the PLO headquarters in 1982, adheres to this position.

Baccouche, Envoy Sytenko Discuss Afghanistan

LD0605121888 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Tunis May 6 TASS—Tunisian Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche received on Thursday a special envoy of the Soviet leadership, Ambassador at Large M.D. Sytenko, for a conversation which focused on ways of implementing Geneva Accords and settling the situation around Afghanistan.

The Soviet envoy conveyed to the Tunisian leadership the April 26 statement of the Soviet Government and expounded the essence of the Geneva documents.

The Tunisian prime minister stressed that Tunisia would promote, as far as possible, the implementation of the Geneva Accords.

On the same day the special Soviet envoy met Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the League of Arab States. The secretary general gave a high appraisal of the Soviet position, which made it possible to sign the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan. The conviction was expressed that the realisation of those documents would set an example for settling other regional conflicts, including that in the Middle East, on the basis of new thinking in international affairs.

The Soviet representative also met with the acting foreign minister of Tunisia, T. Sahbani, and secretary of state for international cooperation Ahmed Ben Arfa.

Ukrainian Official Receives PDRY's Al-Bid

LD0605101088 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpts] Brother 'Ali Salim al-Bid, YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] Central Committee secretary general, has expressed optimism concerning the results of the recent Sanaa meeting between the leaderships of the two parts [of the homeland]. He said the meeting could establish the best conditions for stability in the area, not only in Yemen but also throughout the region. He added that the agreement signed by the two sides arose from the common interests of the Yemeni people, and would bring them security and stability.

The brother secretary-general also expressed the Yemeni leadership's appreciation of the effects of the comprehehensive construction and renewal activities going on in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

This was said during a meeting between Brother 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, and Comrade (Ilyashenko), member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and a number of comrade members of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat who met him at Kiev International Airport when he stopped over there on his way to the Socialist Republic of Cuba this morning. [passage omitted]

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopian President Receives Gorbachev Envoy

LD0605204888 Moscow TASS in English 2036 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Addis Ababa May 6 TASS—Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE), president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE), received Karen Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, personal envoy of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Asmara today. A message from Mikhail Gorbachev was delivered to the leader of the PDRE.

During the conversation which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, there was an exchange of views on a number of international issues, including the situation in the Horn of Africa, the Afghan settlement process, and prospects for resolving some other regional conflicts.

A common conviction was expressed that the way to the elimination of tension in the area in the Horn of Africa lies through solutions to the existing problems by political means on the basis of the principles of territorial integrity of states, non-interference in their internal affairs on the part of external forces, and the development of goodneighbourly relations.

The Ethiopian leader emphasized that his country intended firmly to adhere precisely to such a policy. In this connection the importance of the recent Ethiopian-Somali agreement as an important step in this direction was pointed out.

Mengistu Haile Mariam expressed heart-felt gratitude to the Soviet Union for its invariable support for and solidarity with the struggle of the Ethiopian people in defence of national sovereignty and progressive development. He stated that the Soviet Union's foreign policy and its persistent efforts aimed at ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear destruction, at ensuring the security of all countries, and at upholding the peoples' right to development according to their own choice add confidence to the actions of progressive and peace forces. Mengistu Haile Mariam highly appreciated the Soviet steps for an Afghan settlement.

The leader of Ethiopia was told about the course of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union, and about the forthcoming 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU. He stated that the WPE and its leadership followed the restructuring process with close attention and interest.

They proceed from the assumption that the experience and achievements of perestroyka leading to unfolding the potential of socialism and to the growth of the might of the USSR will be of fundamental importance for the course of world events.

Striving to continue to strengthen friendly cooperation between the USSR and the PDRE, the CPSU and the WPE was expressed.

Discussions on Angola Conclude in London

LD0505204688 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] London May 5 TASS—The concluded talks here between the delegations of Angola, Cuba, the Republic of South Africa, and the United States on a settlement of the situation in Africa's south give rise to "moderate optimism". This was stated at a press conference here today by Jorge Risquet, the leader of the Cuban delegation, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

"Both on the part of Cuba and on the part of Angola, there is goodwill for a search for a fair accord," he emphasized. "If the other sides show similar political will, an accord will be reached."

The aim of the Angolan and Cuban delegations at the talks was to look for an accord which would guarantee Namibia's independence under Resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council and an end to interference in the internal affairs of Angola, Jorge Risquet pointed out. The mission of the Cuban troops in Angola is jointly with the Angolan people to guarantee the country's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty. If that is secured, there would be no need for the stay of Cuban troops in Angola.

Some people assert that we ostensibly arrived here to attend the talks in order to discuss, first of all, the question of a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the Cuban representative said. However, we arrived here, rather, to discuss the question of Namibia's independence and Angola's security.

Although representatives of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) were not present at the talks, the organisation was represented by Angola and Cuba which are SWAPO's staunch friends, Jorge Risquet emphasized. During the meeting, he said, I maintained everyday contacts with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma. In due time SWAPO will join the negotiating process.

Speaking of UNITA forces, the leader of the Cuban delegation emphasized that they were inseparable from the Republic of South Africa. He said those forces operated jointly with South African troops and were a kind of 'black infantry' for them.

In answer to the question as to what would guarantee South Africa's non-attack on Angola in the future, Jorge Risquet pointed out that the granting of independence to Namibia, from the territory of which the aggression is practised, as well as South Africa's appropriate obligation would become the chief guarantee of that. In the event of the granting of independence to Namibia, there would be no common border between Angola and the Republic of South Africa.

The Cuban figure voiced the view that the Soviet Union might become the guarantor of a settlement of the situation in that part of Africa. The USSR is a member of the U.N. Security Council which had passed Resolution 435, he emphasized.

Tanzanian Party Delegation Visits Leningrad

LD0305224388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] A delegation from the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party led by Mwakawago, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Party's National Executive Committee, was in our country from 20 April to 3 May. The delegation was received by Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. There were conversations in the Organizational Party Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee and in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Tanzanian comrades made a trip to Leningrad, where they saw the activity of the local party organizations and soviets of people's deputies. They also visited industrial and agricultural enterprises.

Briefs

Party Ties With Zambia

Lusaka May 4 TASS—A plan for inter-party ties between the CPSU and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) of Zambia for 1988-1989 was signed in Lusaka on Tuesday. The signature from the Zambian side was put by Daniel M. Lisulo, member of the UNIP Central Committee, from the Soviet side—by Oleg Miroshkhin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Ambassador to Zambia. [Excerpt] *[LD0505014588 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT 4 May 88]*

East Europe

OPZZ Executive Committee Statement on Strikes

LD0605134188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Our correspondent in Poland Vasiliy Lesovik reports:

A session of the Executive Committee of the Polish National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] has taken place in Warsaw. It defined the stance of the Polish trade union movement toward the current situation in the country. At a news conference for journalists, a statement was made on behalf of the executive committee by the press spokesman of the Polish National Trade Union Confederation, Franciszek Ciemny: The Executive Committee of the Polish National Trade Union Confederation expresses solidarity with labor collectives and their trade union organizations, and supports all legal action to defend the interests of labor collectives, the statement says. The Executive Committee regards as mistaken decisions on price rises and wages which are causing devastation in the market and cranking up inflation. In its statement on behalf of Polish trade unions, the Executive Committee resolutely voiced backing for the goals of economic reform and for the development of democracy within the country, noting at the same time that bureaucratism and irresoluteness in the implementation of the reform program are undermining faith in its economic effects in the minds of many people.

The statement also expresses the trade unions' attitude to the organization of strikes. While acknowledging the possibility of strikes as one of the extreme methods of demonstrating workers' protest, the Executive Committee of Polish National Trade Union Confederation decisively distanced itself from wildcat strikes and attempts to use workers' class protest for manipulation in the interests of politicos of various kinds. The Executive Committee called on the trade unions to perform their principal functions of defending the interests of working people within the country's established law and order framework.

Effects of Strikes Detailed

LD0605181988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] You know, comrades, that in the last few days public attention has focused on the events taking place at the metallurgy combine in Krakow and at the Gdansk shipyard. A number of workshops have stopped operating. At the shipyard, several hundred people, while disrupting the order of things at the enterprise, have made an attempt to force the collective to go on strike. Our correspondent in Warsaw, Vasiliy Lesovik, reports on these events in greater detail:

[Begin Lesovik recording] The strike in some workshops of the metallurgy workshop has inhibited production, which has sharply exacerbated the financial and economic situation at the enterprise and led to disruptions in supplying metal to cooperative workers. Alarming signals are coming from many of the country's works about metal shortages. The administration of the combine nearly completed talks with the strikers' representatives: Disagreements in interpreting one point are to be resolved by the public arbitration court of the Krakow Voivodship court.

As events progressed, the leaders of the strike committees in both Krakow and Gdansk were not so much attempting to meet economic demands as to put forward political demands that could not be fulfilled. What is more, methods they used in some cases assumed the form of hooliganism, physical threats, blackmail, and psychological pressure on the workers of the workshops that refused to stop working. The collectives of both enterprises increased their demands on their administration to protect them from these terrorist elements.

Specifically, these demands were made at a meeting of the operating workshops' representatives of the metallurgy combine. They said here that if Polish legislation permits strikes as a form of the workers' protests, it must also protect the right of collectives to work. The administration of the combine undertook measures to reestablish a normal pace of work. The initiators of the disturbances have been removed from the combine. On 5 May the combine started working.

Polish workers realize that attempts to organize chaos and disorganize the economy hit most at the vital interests of the entire people, undermine trust in Poland. As a partner in the foreign market, and inhibit economic and democratic changes. [end recording]

Concluding this subject, I will note that at the latest meeting of the Central Committee Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party, it was noted that the problems that have arisen must be tackled with realism and a sense of responsibility for the future of Poland.

Government Measures Reviewed

PM0605111088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "The Polish Government's Measures"]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May—As PAP reports, in connection with the fact that the strike by workers at some of the shops of the Nowa Huta steel combine (Krakow) has put many of those who use its output in a difficult position and jeopardized the interests of the entire economy and population of the country, measures were adopted today with the aim of restoring normal work in all shops.

According to the Polish Foreign Ministry press spokesman, on the night of 4-5 May forces for the protection of public order entered the territory of the Nowa Huta combine and evicted the organizers of the illegal strike who were there, including several people who are not workers at the enterprise. No resistance was offered; the militia workers did not resort to the use of force. As a result of the operation, which lasted less than an hour, 38 people were detained.

J. Urban, Polish Government press spokesman, noted that the militia's actions were undertaken with a view to restoring order and giving the majority of the labor collective the opportunity to resume work. The continuation of the strike was being imposed by a minority of those employed at the enterprise and by the illegal strike committee. The Nowa Huta combine has been working normally since this morning.

The necessary measures that were adopted to maintain order, the government press spokesman stressed, must not be regarded as the resolution of problems and conflicts by force. The method of resolving them remains unchanged: It is the path of reforms and national consensus. The authorities are fully determined to ensure calm and the opportunity to continue debates on the question of the country's future development and further reforms.

J. Urban also reported that tonight, on the instructions of the management of the Gdansk shipyard, a decision was adopted to stop work at that enterprise. This was announced to workers arriving for the first shift. About 1,000 people remained on the territory of the shipyard, including the "strike committee" and persons conducting an "occupation strike."

Reporting unsuccessful attempts to organize strikes at a number of other enterprises, he stressed that on the whole the Polish economy is functioning normally.

Recent events in Poland have shown clearly that those who have organized and are frantically trying to organize all kinds of strikes, demonstrations, and disorders at all costs set their own course. That course, which is aimed at provoking a political crisis and undermining the economy, ignores the needs of the population. Our position remains firm with regard to these people, J. Urban noted. But we still want dialogue with all who seek agreement and collaboration on a realistic basis for the sake of Poland's development.

J. Urban condemned attempts by the Western mass media to influence public opinion in Poland through incitements to strikes and other such actions and through creating the false impression that Poland is on strike, that everyone is in solidarity with the strikers. This activity should be regarded not as information, but as political activity contrary to the ethics of journalism and based on unscrupulous methods, the exaggeration and distortion of facts.

The Polish National Trade Union Confederation Executive Committee adopted a resolution at a session held today, setting forth its position on the country's current sociopolitical problems. The resolution stresses that the trade unions are waging a struggle for the implementation of the economic demands put forward by the working people, and at the same time resolutely opposing unlawful strikes and the exploitation of the workers' protests for the purposes of manipulations in the interests of all kinds of politickers. A strike is an exceptional measure, a last resort, and this should be remembered in Poland's present economic situation.

The executive committee stressed that the justified defnese of the working people's interests should take place within the framework of the law on trade unions, and called on trade union organizations consistently to defend the working people's interests within the framework of existing law and order.

Jaruzelski Underlines Determination To Reform

LD0705083888 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 7 TASS—The Polish leadership's firm determination to continue the process of reforms in Poland has been underlined by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, addressing a conference devoted to the 160 anniversary of the establishment of Poland's first state bank.

The dismantling of the principles and mechanisms of the economic reform cannot be allowed, he said. With this aim in view the proposal was drawn up on granting extraordinary powers to the Government of the Polish People's Republic. It will be submitted to the Sejm by the chairman of the Council of Ministers in the next few days. The aim of the measure is exclusively to support and accelerate the reform, to weaken the factors which are hampering it, to eliminate all which leads to eroding its foundations. Why exactly in Poland, the country burdened with so many difficulties, the reform should have been held without conflicts, including the conflict of interests?

The reform, and this was openly underlined by the leadership of the party and the state, encounters different attitude of the public opinion. It is invariably linked with expenditures, it might cause certain hardships difficult life situations for different groups of the population and individuals. Putting the reform into life is the process, with its results could be felt only gradually. The process is underway in exceedingly difficult conditions, burdened by the heavy aftermath of much earlier years. Situations therefore arise when part of the population cannot agree with the hardships and painfully react to these hardships. Therefore one should strive to make the persuasion of the need of changes much broader, fuller and more profound.

Noting that the current decade in Poland is a period of great advancement of reforms, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that an organic combination of economic rationalism with social and humanistic values of socialism is exactly the most valuable synthesis of the economic model which we want to build through the efforts of all the Poles, for the Poles, for Poland.

Orzechowski: Events Undermine Trust in Economy

LD0605195488 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 6 TASS—Poland is at the crossroads now, the future of socialist renovation, economic reform and democratization of societal life and the policy of openness to peace are called in question, stresses an article by Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic, in the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU today.

History does not know the examples of fast, effective and painless achievements when implementing sweeping economic reforms, he went on. Poland is no exception. In overcoming old ways and habits, the reform runs up against resistance on the part of those whose positions it threatens. The reform sparks mistrust among others since it calls for hardships. The emergence of disputable problems is understandable and natural. They can and should be resolved patiently on one condition—given respect for the right and principles of social order.

A comeback of the strike chaos would have a baneful impact not only on the living standard of the working people, all Poles. This would also be a blow to Poland's positions on the international scene. We really sense the symptoms of this in recent days.

The past year brought about a tangible improvement in the international atmosphere not only in Europe. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington opened up the way towards genuine disarmament, pushed back the threat of nuclear holocaust.

The dialogue on political problems and disarmament issues between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, is still, however, at a rather delicate state. There are numerous and influential forces in the West, which wait for any appropriate circumstance to contain the process of detente and disarmament. There are also those who would like to see in Poland a weak link of the socialist community, which is rent from within.

Poland's position and authority are created by Poles themselves. What takes place in the country now undermines trust in it as an economic partner and state which assumed payment commitments. This process not only can but also should be arrested and then turned backwards. This is demanded by the vital interests of the Polish people, the good and future of the country, Orzechowski writes in conclusion.

PUWP Conference Praises Production Normalcy

LD0705190188 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 7 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin reports:

A conference of the first secretaries of provincial committees of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) was held here today under the chairmanship of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

In discussing the socio-political and economic situation in the country, including the illegal strikes held at some enterprises and higher schools recently, participants in the conference noted with respect and gratitude the stance of the majority of citizens who consistently accomplish socio-economic tasks. The conference defined the tasks of party organisations in expediting the process of the economic reform entering its second stage, deepening the process of democratization and national concord. The conference approved on the whole the draft law on emergency powers for the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

According to press reports, the production process at the integrated iron-and-steel works at Nowa Huta is picking up. The shops whose operation was interrupted as a result of the strike have sent the first batches of output to the customers.

A meeting of the Socialist Polish Youth Union Committee of the plant was held at Nowa Huta. It evaluated the socio-political situation at the steel mill and adopted a resolution in which young metallurgists came out for imeplementing persistently the economic reform. They strongly denounced the strike that threatened the mill and the country's national economy with disastrous consequences. The instigaters of the strike were mostly persons who do not work at the mill.

The TRYBUNA LUDU informs its readers today about the normal pace in the work of labour collectives across Poland. The sole exception is the Gdansk shipyard where part of the work force go ahead with the illegal strike. The press reports that several hundred strikers, who violate the instruction by the directorate to the shipyard to leave its territory, keep occupying gate 2 and several premises.

Commenting on Western press reports on the situation in Poland, the newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLWOSCI notes that the so-called free press has recourse to phrase mongering and the twisting of facts to project in a distorted and false light the true state of affairs. Western mass media employ all methods to laud to the skies those renegades inside the country who at one time had already tried to push Poland to the brink of an abyss. A large-scale and cynical propaganda game is being played at full tilt around the Polish People's Republic, in the course of which anti-Polish and anti-Socialist aims are pursued.

Gdansk Shipyard Talks Continue 8 May

LD0805203588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Talks have been continuing in Gdansk between the shipyard management and participants in the illegal strike that has been going on there since 2 May. The management of the enterprise has announced a plan to raise shipyard workers' salaries from June within the framework of the new remunerations system. The demands put forward by the trade union and workers of the shipyard were taken into account. It was also announced that in the event of an immediate stop to the strike, none of those who took part in it would be fired or subject to any other administrative punishments.

Western Strike Coverage Called 'Tendentious'

LD0605221288 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 6 TASS—The output of products at the Nowa Huta metallurgical complex, where the personnel of several shops were on strike previously, is coming back to normal. The production process has been resumed in the shops of rolled steel for motor vehicle bodies and cold rolling. Work to resume the production of galvanised iron is being finalised.

The Polish news agency PAP reports that part of strikers at the Gdansk shipyards continue to block the entrance, which delays still further the resumption of normal work and increases the already considerable damage.

The general director of the shipyards urged them to leave the territory of the shipyards and to stop the aimless demonstrative act organized by those who seek to remind people of their existence at the expense of workers.

The voivodship procurator's office, which declared the strike at the Gdansk shipyard illegal, has begun an investigation of the case of violation of the law on trade unions by the strike organizers.

In connection with some reports by Western mass media about alleged beating of strikers during an operation to remove them from the territory of the Nowa Huta metallurgical complex, a spokesman for the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs has stated that all those reports are false.

The order maintenance forces did not meet with resistance and no one was hurt as a result of the action. The so-called "opposition sources" which were referred to, in particular, by the ASSOCIATED PRESS, the UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, and the [AGENCE] FRANCE PRESSE news agencies are not only deliberately tendentious but unreliable, too.

An article published in the TRYBUNA LUDU newspaper emphasizes that people from the outside, those through whose fault the country experienced a difficult lesson of chaos and economic disorganization seven years ago, want to intervene at all costs in the disputes that have flared up at enterprises. In those places where they manage to penetrate factory grounds, economic demands cease to exist, and a tough political struggle begins. In short, this is not a question of demand for higher pay, but is a question of political pressure, of yet another act of unlawful pressure.

What for did Jan Rulewski, one of former leaders of 'Solidarity', want to penetrate a bus depot in Bydgoszcz on April 25 during a strike of the city transport workers? the newspaper queries. The personnel, however, did not agree to let him in. Another 'Solidarity' leader, Andrzej Gwiazda, recently appeared in the territory of the Gdansk shipyards again. He once said it was necessary to put still more pressure. Having lost at that time, he now says the same thing. There is yet another character, M. Gil. Surrounded by several people, he tried to exercise direction over the strike in the shops of the Nowa Huta metallurgical complex.

Unfortunately, the result of such "visits" is that talks on the true interests of workers, on wage bonuses, and working conditions regenerate into political demands, first of all, for the legalisation of political structures of the former 'Solidarity'.

Jacek Kuron, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Z. Romaszewski, who were well known several years ago, as the masterminds of subversive actions, the newspaper goes on, today again became the main characters of Polish events.

And what about Lech Walesa? Officially he is ill but his state of health enables him to guide the actions of strikers at the Gdansk shipyards. Putting it in a nutshell, the same names, same people, same slogans, TRYBUNA LUDU writes in conclusion.

'Incitement' Campaign Noted

PM0605184788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 88 First Edition p 4

["Our Commentary" by Oleg Losoto]

[Text] It is natural that the complex events in Poland would attract attention in many countries. It is well known that the Polish Government has started to implement the second stage of the economic reform, involving major changes in the entire economic mechanism with simultaneous broad democratization of social life. A price increase for foodstuffs and other consumer goods was effected within the framework of this reform.

Some labor collectives failed to accept this necessary step as a forced measure in the interests of overcoming the existing difficulties of life. People there came out with demands for higher wages and organized strikes disregarding the actual economic potential of their enterprises and the interests of society as a whole. But there is no avoiding the principle which applies to everyone: If you work better you will receive more. This presupposes rhythmical and purposeful work by all links of the economic mechanism.

Normal human logic can understand this. But here is something that attracts attention: Some political circles in the West, as well as their propaganda, are again trying to exploit events in Poland by fanning yet another noisy anti-Polish and antisocialist campaign. Various subversive "radio voices" are broadcasting at full volume, reports and commentaries are printed, interviews are obtained. On looking through what is being written and broadcast by the West about Poland, one gets the impression that the whole country is on strike, in the grips of discord, with nobody working. Rumors are presented as facts, the desirable is presented as actual. As a matter of fact, this is not at all surprising. The Western "radio voices" themselves betray their intention to destabilize the situation in Poland and to influence the country's public opinion along these lines.

Official circles in the West occupy by no means the least position in this campaign of incitement and disinformation. A White House spokesman, for example, announced: "Over the last few days we have been following with concern the development of events in Poland...."

If only that was all. The statement also contains a "decisive call" to the Polish Government to embark on "productive dialogue with all elements of Polish society...." And so on, and so forth.

I beg your pardon, do Washington and other Western capitals have the right to dictate to Warsaw how to solve Polish society's problems, which may be complex but are purely domestic? There is no such right, and especially not from a moral viewpoint. It is, after all, universally known that the U.S. Republican administration and the governments of many other Western countries deal harshly with their own trade unions and make no concessions to their own working people's demands. How can we fail to recall the crude way in which the U.S. Administration disbanded the air traffic controllers' union, the way actions by miners and printers in Britain were put down, and so on.

Are there no labor conflicts in the West? Is it not true that the countries which are so proud of their democracy are constantly pruning the workers' rights, bringing down their living standards, and restricting the trade unions' activity? It is well known that class clashes are constantly shaking the Western world.

Therefore, would it not be better if certain people in the West tackled their own problems rather than shedding tears about the "fate" of Polish workers who, I am sure, will work things out for themselves? Would it not be better, as Krylov used to say, to "look at your own self?..."

GDR Liberation Jubilee Marked in Moscow

PM0505155388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "GDR Working People's Holiday"]

[Text] May 1945 opened a new page in the history of Germany and in the history of Europe as a whole. The great victory of the Soviet people was an important historical landmark in the fate of all mankind and in the social renewal of the planet. This date has become a symbol of peace, freedom, and a new life for the people of the GDR. This was mentioned by those taking part in a 4 May Moscow meeting of representatives of the capital's working people to mark the 43d anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism.

The speaker—Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister—pointed out that in the years since then the GDR's working people, led by their experienced vanguard—the SED—have covered the tremendous distance from postwar collapse to a modern economy, from routed fascism to a socialist state of workers and peasants. This convincingly attests to the vital force of the socialist system and graphically shows its potential and advantages. The elapsed decades, the speaker stressed, confirm that relations of inviolable friendship and comprehensive cooperation have taken shape between the CPSU and the SED, between the USSR and the GDR.

The GDR's present and future are closely linked with the Soviet Union, G. Koenig, GDR ambassador in the USSR, said. We advocate the further deepening of the inviolable friendship and fraternal cooperation between our parties and states, he stressed. The ambassador stated that the GDR's working people welcome and fully support the USSR's new peace initiatives designed to strengthen peace, remove the threat of nuclear war, and establish the new thinking in relations between states.

The following took part in the meeting: Ya.Ya. Vagris, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments; military chiefs; and the representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations.

Soviet-Romanian Cooperation Commission Meets

PM0605140288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Session Held"]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 May—The 18th session of the Soviet-Romanian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation was held here 3-5 May.

It discussed the results of work by cooperating organizations in the USSR and Romania in implementing the Soviet-Romanian accords at the highest level on comprehensively extending and deepening bilateral relations in all spheres. The decisions adopted on this question are aimed at further developing trade and economic ties between the two countries.

A plan for measures to implement the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Techncial Cooperation Between the USSR and Romania for the Period Through the Year 2000 was approved. It was formulated in light of the proposals drawn up in the past year for developing specialization and production sharing in leading sectors of industry, expanding scientific and technical cooperation, and building national economic projects on Soviet and Romanian territory.

The commission devoted particular attention to the development of progressive new forms of cooperation. The need was noted to step up work to establish direct ties between the two countries' enterprises and organizations, create joint enterprises, and extend commodity exchange operations through internal trade. A range of questions were examined in connection with the fulfillment of mutual commitments under existing agreements in the sphere of trade, cooperation in the construction of projects, and specialization and production sharing.

Measures were agreed for increasing the efficiency of scientific and technical cooperation, including cooperation on topics aimed at implementing the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000.

The decisions and recommendations adopted are reflected in the commission session's protocol, which was signed by A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and S. Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania.

The commission's work took place in a businesslike, comradely atmosphere.

Ceausescu Receives Antonov

PM0605140488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "For the Further Development of Cooperation"]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 May—N. Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and Romanian president, yesterday received A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is here in connection with the 18th session of the Romanian-Soviet intergovernmental commission on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.

During the talk, in which V.I. Smyslov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, took part, questions of further developing economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and Romania were discussed.

AUCCTU's Shalayev Meets LCY's Krunic

PM0605145588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 May 88 p 3

[Report by own correspondent A. Poroshin: "Warm Meetings in Belgrade"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 May—The second day of the stay in Yugoslavia by a Soviet trade union delegation headed by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev began with a visit to the "Belgrade" agro-industrial enterprise, the biggest in the country. [passage omitted]

At midday the members of the Soviet trade union delegation were received by B. Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. USSR Ambassador to Yugoslavia V.F. Maltsev was at the meeting. There was an exchange of opinions on questions of bilateral Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation and the expansion and strengthening of links between the two countries' trade unions and between allied enterprises and labor collectives. The meeting reemphasized the enormous significance of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to Yugoslavia in terms of further developing Soviet-Yugoslav relations. It was noted that the visit was a very important political event in Soviet-Yugoslav relations which strengthened the atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust between the two countries and revealed and confirmed the similarity of approaches to a number of major problems of socialist development and international relations.

The Soviet trade union delegation visited the J. Broz Tito memorial complex and laid a wreath against his marble gravestone.

In the afternoon there was a news conference for AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev and Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia [CTUY] Council Chairman Z. Hrabar.

In his introductory speech S.A. Shalayev singled out the three main aspects of the talks that had taken place with the CTUY Council leadership. First, he said, the sides exchanged detailed information on topical questions of the activity of Soviet and Yugoslav trade unions at the present stage of socialist building. The CTUY's experience in developing workers' self-management and the improvement of society's political system and in implementing the long-term program of ecopnomic stabilization in the country was of special interest to us.

The second major theme of the talks was questions of bilateral Soviet-Yugoslav trade union links. The common view was expressed that the links are an important integral part of the relations of fraternal friendship and fruitful collaboration of working people and the peoples of our countries and the exchange, taking place at various levels, of experience of trade union work is of mutual benefit.

The third large group of problems touched on during the talks was associated with present-day international relations and the situation in the world trade union movement. The talks confirmed the proximity or coincidence of the sides' positions regarding very important international problems directly affecting working people's vital interests—problems of peace, disarmament, and economic and social progress. A common desire was expressed to arrange joint actions by trade unions of different orientations to attain these goals, ensure a safe and just world, and protect human and trade union rights.

S.A. Shalayev expressed confidence that the visit as a whole and the talks with the Yugoslav trade union center leadership had been mutually advantageous and would serve the interests of the further deepening of Soviet-Yugoslav trade union links.

Then S.A. Shalayev and Z. Hrabar answered Yugoslav and Soviet journalists' questions.

On the same day the Soviet delegation flew to the city of Sarajevo, capital of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

West Europe

Kvitsinskiy on Disarmament, European Relations

DW080921 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 7 May 88 p 10

[Speech delivered by Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, USSR ambassador to the FRG, at the CDU foreign policy congress in Bonn; date not given]

[Text] We, the Europeans in East and West, are now passing through a special time—a time of change, new thinking, and hope. Many things have started moving, and new horizons and prospects present themselves. Unique opportunities on the threshold of the second millennium of our age are offering themselves to bring about a change for the better. However, we could also miss those opportunities. Therefore, we should not only see the opportunities but also the dangers when we talk about disarmament in Europe and the new cooperative relations on our continent.

The treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range operational-tactical nuclear missiles is about to be ratified. Several years ago, such a treaty would hardly have been conceivable. It could initiate change in the history of the world and, in particular, Europe. But it could also remain a courageous one-time-only step in the desert of traditional patterns, cliches, and nationalisms. What it will ultimately be will depend on all of us. Human civilization will in the next few years have to pass a test. What is at stake is its future and its secure existence—no less and no more. It is a challenge to every country, every political party, and every thinking citizen.

The Soviet Union pursues consistently the course of the total elimination of all nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction before the end of this century. At the same time, conventional weapons should be drastically reduced. That is Mikhail Gorbachev's program. He announced it on 15 January 1986.

That program is not a philosophical whim and not a political trick to create confusion in the West. It is an invitation to see what is necessary. The nuclear arms race has reached a deadlock. It cannot be won. Its continuation jeopardizes our security and aggravates the danger of global disaster at mounting speed. Radical change in thinking is necessary. At our time, security cannot grown from confrontation. It can only grow from cooperation. It cannot grow from constantly more perverse and more sophisticated weapons but only from an honest balance of interests. We have to put an end to the old nonsense of military improvement on the one hand, and a bit of arms control on the other, where the number of a given category of weapons is reduced, whereas all the other weapons categories are increased. Nuclear disarmament, a weapons-free space, and broad peaceful cooperation are the dictates of reason in our age.

People say that without nuclear weapons, there is no security. We do not share that view. The story about the peace-keeping role of the nuclear bomb, about the deterrent role of the threat of the first use of nuclear weapons, and about the opportunity to control the escalation of nuclear war belonged on the garbage dump of history long ago. The story just is not true. Everybody knows that the first atom bomb was not used for the purpose of preserving peace through "political coercion" [words in quotation marks rendered in English], but as an instrument of war against civilians. The fact that it was not used thereafter clearly was not attributable to the wonderful peacekeeping quality of that weapon. It was attributable to the fact that the country that built the bomb lost the monopoly of that weapon in a very short time, became vulnerable to nuclear weapons, and for all its efforts has never been able to change that state of affairs. To this day, the international significance of that fact which was based on the tremendous effort of our people who at the time were decimated by 20 million and robbed by half their national resources, has not been properly assessed owing to ideological animosities and political narrow- mindedness. But my country laid the groundwork for the fact that we now live in a pluralist world and that no one has power over life and death in this world. May be in those years, people considered that less important than their own interests. However, it is good, is it not, that history decided in that and in no other way.

After the end of World War II, we were the only power, together with our allies, not to accept the U.S. leadership claim. We did not deny ourselves and have retained our independence, even though it was not easy—politically, militarily, and materially. But we were successful. As we see now, one of the consequences was that the self-denial of Europe did not take place either. Meanwhile a new European self-confidence is budding; a new view of the role and opportunities Europe and its peoples have in a new and interdependent world. In this world there can never be war again because it is growing more and more rapidly into a single organism, especially here in Europe. We cannot operate any limb or organ out of that organism—no matter what their quality may be—without crippling ourselves or even perishing miserably by such a surgical operation. Crusades and Manichaean divisions into good and evil belong in the rag-bag.

It is not an exaggeration to say that all the world is happy about the physical destruction of nuclear weapons. I can say that at least for the whole of the Soviet Union, from Kaliningrad in the West to Vladivostok in the Far East. Some people say the fact that those weapons are scrapped is the result of nuclear counterarmament [nachruestung] in Europe or even of the U.S. SDI program. It is not worthwhile polemizing against it. What is important is the result. But I can state here very clearly that our nuclear means are not too good for freeing Europe from nuclear weapons. The explosion in Europe of just one Pershing-2 warhead would be comparable to 100 Chernobyls, with the corresponding consequences not only for the Warsaw Pact area but also for the European NATO area.

We had to develop and possess our nuclear weapons only to counter the nuclear threat to our country and our allies. We think that nuclear weapons that have special selective qualities and are designed to be used against specific regions are a special danger to the Europeans and thus also to us, because the consequences of using them on the European territory are in no way different from the consequences of using strategic weapons. We are, therefore, ready for further drastic reductions and zero solutions. The authors of zero solutions should submit new, comprehensive proposals. What we want are not numbers but reciprocity and the consistent liberation of mankind from being a nuclear hostage.

And as for the SDI program, we are not nervous at all. In political and military technology terms, it has increasingly turned out to be a flop. No serious person talks about perfect, 100 percent missile defense, and no Pentagon representative is ready to trust the program and to consider nuclear weapons impotent and absolete. In the beginning, functioning space-based weapons were promised for 1988, as well as the most modern technologies for the industries as spin-offs of Star Wars, production growth rates of 10 percent, annual wage increases of 5 percent, and an end to unemployment in the United States, and many other things. Nothing of all that has materialized. The only thing left is the attempt—in view of the fact that the nuclear arms race cannot be won on earth—nevertheless to achieve military superiority by taking advantage of space, by way of laser weapons and electronic guns, supersensors and miraculous mirrors.

However, mankind cannot afford the nonsense of new military efforts which would exceed by far the size of all the material and money wasted during the past decades on nuclear weapons. It would be a crime against the future in which we will have to solve totally different problems, such as environmental protection, alternative energy supply, overcoming famine, and so forth. The ABM Treaty must continue. Space must remain free of weapons. Then disarmament on earth will make sense and will have solid prospects.

All the world is now looking expectantly to Moscow where the next Soviet-U.S. summit will take place. What is going on in relations between the USSR and the United States could mean a further warming of the international climate. More understanding between the USSR and the United States has always influenced the course of events in the world positively. The Federal Government's constructive stance on the meeting, and its readiness to encourage steps toward reducing strategic weapons, banning chemical weapons, preserving the ABM Treaty, and resolving regional conflicts prove its wisdom and responsibility. We attach great importance to the development of our dialogue with the United States. The opportunities of Soviet-U.S. cooperation are too serious an affair to be left out of consideration and unused. What is do-able and mutually beneficial should be done in the interests of both sides and the whole world. Better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States do not have to worry or concern anyone. Such relations will always be based on reality.

That holds also true for our relations with West Europe. The inviolability of the borders on our continent, the respect for the existing territorial and political realities, for the countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the strict observance of the generally accepted principles and standards of international law are the basic prerequisites for shaping a common European home. Nobody should, please, see in this idea a covert invitation to give up alliance obligations and basic political orientations, or an encouragement to pursue "extremely dangerous neutralities." The more firmly the Federal Republic is anchored in the Western alliance, the more stable the existing territorial-political structures in Europe. Those structures have brought us all 40 years of peace in Europe. They should not be given up. We should much rather set realistic standards and then start work in Europe and for Europe with a sense of realism, doggedness, and a sense of what is do-able. It is not a fast or easy road. But Europe has to regain its specific weight in the world. It can play a unique role in the current phase. In that respect, there are quite a number of objective conditions that Mikhail Gorbachev describes in his book which just won a prize here in the Federal Republic. The success of the European process could allow this continent to make an even larger contribution to the rest of the world. If Europe finds practical solutions to its problems, they will certainly be useful models for other dimensions. The world is currently at a crossroads, and what direction it will pursue depends largely on Europe's political position.

We have our own ideas of a "common European home." To the extent that they can be articulated politically, we do not keep them secret. Several days ago, the Warsaw Pact countries formulated some of the ideas in an appeal to the NATO members and all countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

However, we are not so presumptuous as to present comprehensive and ready formulas for all European countries. That would, first, be unrealistic and, second, inexpedient. After all, there are enough politicians who make their living by rejecting all Soviet proposals simply because they come from the Soviet Union, politicians who are rooted in their own European thinking in total sterility but skillfully invent ever new requests and "indispensable conditions" and present them to the East. However, what we need now is neither critics nor ruminators. All of Europe should actively take part. Mikhail Gorbachev has invited all, irrespective of their party membership. They should all come—those who are enthusiastic and those who are skeptical. A new Europe will be born from a broad variety of opinions.

Movement toward that goal has begun. To allow it to develop speedily, it is necessary

—To guarantee the coming into force and realization of the INF Treaty;

—To ban chemical weapons and eliminate stocks before the end of this year;

—To agree on a mandate in Vienna as soon as possible and to exchange data on forces and conventional weapons of NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe for the purpose of reducing them considerably;

—To resume separate negotiations on reducing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and subsequently eliminating such weapons;

—To compare military doctrines and adjust them strictly to defense;

—To develop and expand confidence-building measures to include air and naval forces;

—To agree on a moratorium on increases in military spending;

—To activate bilateral and multilateral negotiations on disarmament issues.

Such measures would help improve the situation in Europe further, substantially reduce the danger of war, strengthen confidence, and develop cooperation on the continent in many areas. We also stick to our proposal to abolish military bases on foreign territories and to withdraw foreign troops from other countries. That would create an entirely new situation and would be an essential contribution toward strengthening stability and security in Europe and the world.

However, we also stress seriously and urgently that the weapons to be eliminated in the disarmament process cannot be replaced by others. New tendencies in the arms race have to be prevented. Introducing "compensations" and providing new nuclear, chemical, or highly effective conventional weapons runs counter to tendencies in Europe to achieve understanding and is not in line with the Europeans' basic interests.

Two problems are currently in the focus of discussions here: tactical nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional weapons and forces. I do not want to anticipate events and developments in those two areas. We will have to find political solutions in both cases. But they will have to be acceptable and substantial solutions.

Conventional forces and weapons cannot be reduced or restructured to achieve the incapacity to attack, if nothing changes about NATO's troop strengths and structures—in other words, if NATO reduced only by a symbolic 5 percent, whereas the Soviets would be the only ones to really restructure and reduce.

That would be a one-sided approach. We know very well that NATO has concentrated most of its troops and weapons in Central Europe. If the deployment of the troops of the first echelon, consisting of the Bundeswehr, the British Rhine Army, and the U.S. Army, is not changed, if that mass of soldiers and most modern weapons is not reduced, if the tactical air forces are not reduced and transferred to the second line, and if aircraft carriers continue to be concentrated in the eastern Atlantic, the NATO leadership is undoubtedly able to launch a combined large-scale surprise offensive by land, by sea, and in the air against us. The existing war materiel and the training of the troops allow them to start such an attack. We also know that NATO has repeatedly claimed the right of the first use of nuclear weapons. The argument that NATO is unable to launch an attack because it is so democratic and transparent does not convince anyone. As events in Libya and Grenada have shown, pretexts for an attack are deliberately fabricated if that seems to be expedient. We were once bitten and are twice shy. We learned a lesson in 1941 for several coming generations. We only consider really existing objective strategic capabilities if the task is reducing weapons and troops. Our U.S. partners also taught us that very carefully. The conclusion to be drawn is that substantial reductions and structural changes have to be made by both sides, and asymmetries have to be abolished to the extent that is necessary for them to remain capable of defense and incapable of attack.

As for the tactical nuclear weapons, the mere fact that 4,600 nuclear devices are stockpiled in the NATO countries proves that continuing that state of affairs is pure madness. Such a nuclear mountain cannot play a sensible role, neither politically nor militarily. It is an asset of the bankrupt strategy of limited nuclear wars. It must go—on both sides. Those who still intend to counterarm [nachruesten] would move on dangerous ground. When people in the United States are outraged by the idea of denuclearizing Europe and say that it would be egregious for the United States to become the only target of nuclear weapons as a result, we would say that it was up to the Americans to denuclearize the United States as well. As to the rest, it remains a mystery why in the event of a 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons, the nuclear systems in Europe should be increased and modernized. The argument that there can be no security without nuclear weapons is not convincing. Or is it supposed to be a recommendation to non-nuclear states to reject the non-proliferation treaty? That would have beautiful consequences for international security.

On our new policy in Europe and with Europe, the Federal Republic takes the proper place in our considerations. We have well taken notice of the federal chancellor's statements that relations with the Soviet Union are of central importance for the Federal Republic. Our relationship has been difficult in the past years. There were terrible, very black pages. They cannot be deleted from history. But we also have an active and substantive tradition of cooperation in all areas. Those periods have always been fruitful and productive for our peoples. The other European partners have also always profited from our peaceful cooperation.

Is it not time definitely to think about the good things, continue the many good traditions, and to take full advantage of the unique opportunities of the Moscow treaty and venture new steps forward? The new situation in the world and in Europe are a challenge to us both. As the federal president said so aptly, Mikhail Gorbachev's course offers the advantage for Europe that the "different systems in East and West irrevocably venture cooperation...."

The Soviet Union is currently going through a period of perestroyka, the restructuring of its economic, social, and political life. Many things have started moving. The process is accompanied by an unprecedented development of democracy and glasnost. More correctly, perestroyka and glasnost are two aspects of one and the same phenomenon and are mutually conditional and mutually promotive.

The meaning of our reform consists in increasing the efficiency of our intact and strong economy. We want to produce more and better goods, and we want to use more modern production methods. We want top quality to become a rule in our country. We want to give our people more, but we also want to ask more of them. We want to have good performance. That requires more rights, more commitment, and more responsibility for everyone. We started with the economy, but perestroyka is also gradually expanding to other areas. Important problems of further improving our political system will be discussed at the forthcoming all-union party conference in June.

Perestroyka is a task of huge dimensions. It has been designed to last for a lengthy period of time. Therefore, we cannot now foresee its limits. However, we can already say definitely now that we will not adopt the Western system. We are developing our social system. We have to pursue our own course and have to use the means in accordance with our country's specific circumstances....

I could say a lot more about innumerable other areas where expanding contacts between our countries and peoples would be desirable and possible, such as sports, tourism, the exchange of youth, students, or trade unionists, meetings of artists, scientists, physicians, or even such "exotic" characters as stamp collectors, hunters, anglers, and so forth. But all those examples are of secondary importance. It would be of primary importance to develop understanding of the fact that such professional and friendly relations are indispensable, and that they help international understanding and in this way support the peacekeeping efforts made by politicians.

Restructuring in the Soviet Union has broadened the bridge connecting the two peoples. If the political will exists, we can achieve a lot jointly. We can open up new opportunities and horizons of real partnership and good-neighborliness. Honest cooperation, a broad, mutually advantageous exchange, should become the supporting axis of East-West relations in Europe. In that respect, everyone is called upon to make a positive contribution: in our bilateral interests, in European interests, and in the interests of peace throughout the world.

Bogochev Views FRG Nuclear Arms Proposal

LD0705162188 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

A leading member of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's party, Alfred Dregger, proposed that "West German planes be outfitted with American nuclear-tipped missiles to demonstrate the solidarity of the NATO alliance after the new missile treaty," THE NEW YORK TIMES reported from Washington.

What is it? A misprint or some mistake? West German leaders have up to this day been highly sensitive to even a mention of a possibility of deploying nuclear weapons under West German control and to attacks that they can violate a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Dregger himself quite recently voiced some sound ideas concerning NATO's nuclear re-armament. And now this statement.

No, there was no mistake in the report. The U.S. newspaper said that Dregger, chairman of the parliamentary group of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, advocated the idea to reporters after a meeting with President Ronald Reagan and Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci in Washington.

He also said that his proposal had received a "generally favourable reception in the Reagan administration."

Such a proposal raises a number of questions. First of all, does it reflect Dregger's personal views or a stand of the West German Government? Second, is Bonn going to abide by the non-proliferation treaty? And finally, what about the Paris agreements of 1954 which exclude a possibility of West German control over nuclear weapons?

True, Dregger told reporters in Washington that "the American nuclear weapons will remain under American control," but then again a legitimate question arises: How will the U.S. President be able to control the use of American nuclear missiles carried by West German warplanes?

Or does the Pentagon plan to attach two or three armed soldiers to each two-seater Tornado plane so as to prevent an unsanctioned use of nuclear weapons by another country or even by a pilot of another country?

Washington has so far not responded to Dregger's proposal. However, THE NEW YORK TIMES quoted an administration official as saying that the proposal was "under discussion by alliance military experts."

This fact cannot but give rise to a feeling of worry. Can it be that Bonn is reaching out for a nuclear button?

Kochemasov Meets With West Berlin Mayor

LD0405173788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 4 May (ADN)—Vyacheslav Kochemasov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in the GDR, met here today with the governing mayor of Berlin (West), Eberhard Diepgen. During the talk, questions of mutual interest were discussed.

Antonov in FRG 5-7 May To Discuss Cooperation

Meets With Bangemann

LD0505180588 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Bonn May 5 TASS—Matters aimed at developing trade-and-economic relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) have been discussed during a meeting between Alexey Antonov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who arrived here today for a working visit, and Martin Bangemann, the FRG's minister of economics.

The two sides emphasized mutual interest in further broadening cooperation in various fields, in developing economic, scientific and technological contacts and in enriching them with new forms. Much attention was given to the discussion of specific matters of cooperation between enterprises and firms of the FRG and Soviet partners, including those in the light and food industries.

Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, the ambassador of the USSR to the FRG, took part in the meeting which was held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

Talks Center on Kola Peninsula

LD0505161688 Hamburg DPA in German 1519 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Duesseldorf (DPA)—At the invitation of Deutsche Bank AG, a Soviet delegation headed by Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Aleksey Antonov has unexpectedly met German firms and banks for economic talks in Duesseldorf. It was reported on Thursday that they center on short-term possibilities of restructuring Soviet industrial enterprises for the production of foodstuffs and consumer goods. The Soviet Government wanted to get an idea of how wide-ranging German-Soviet cooperation for the modernization of Soviet consumer goods and foodstuffs production can be implemented in an immediate program.

Antonov will also meet the chief of the Deutsche Bank, F. Wilhelm Christians, on Thursday evening, it is reported. The visit by the Soviets, which will last until the weekend, is in advance of the session of the German-Soviet economic commission to be held in Moscow from 10-12 May. The negotiations, said the Deutsche Bank, also centered on the economic development of the Soviet Kola Penninsula in the White Sea, which is rich in raw materials. There are plans to establish industrial processing enterprises with Western participation there.

Business Cooperation Discussed

LD0705210688 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Bonn May 7 TASS—Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, paid a working visit to West Germany on May 5-7.

He met with Economics Minister Martin Bangemann, Chairman of the Board of Deutsche Bundesbank Friedrich Wilhelm Christians, and other prominent representatives of the West German business community.

During the meetings, the sides emphasised their wish to develop and upgrade, to mutual benefit, cooperation in the economic, scientific and technological spheres.

The Soviet side pointed out that there were objective prerequisites necessary for that. They include powerful economic and intellectual potentials in both countries, the existence of a solid treaty-and-legal basis, and profound changes in the Soviet economy, specifically in economic management.

A transition to new forms of business cooperation and the development of production cooperation could largely promote these efforts.

Representatives of the West German business quarters showed interest in the perestroyka (restructuring) drive in the Soviet Union and the possibilities opening up in this connection for economic cooperation between the two countries.

They expressed readiness to develop economic ties with the Soviet Union, using both traditional and new forms of interaction.

During the meetings, the sides largely discussed specific issues pertaining to cooperation between West German firms and Soviet partners in the light and food industries, among them the participation of West German industry in the reconstruction and modernisation of Soviet enterprises.

The sides will continue the discussion of these issues.

Three French Hostages in Lebanon Released

LD0505090788 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Paris May 5 TASS—The French Foreign Ministry announced that three French nationals, who were held for three years as hostages by one of the Muslim organisations in Lebanon, were set free today in Beirut.

The three men are diplomats Marcel Carton and Marcel Fontaine, kidnapped in Beirut in March 1985, and Paris-based journalist Jean-Paul Kauffmann, kidnapped in May 1985. They were the last of the ten French hostages that were taken by Lebanese Muslim groups.

L'HUMANITE Rejects Bovin Election Analysis

PM0605150788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "L'HUMANITE: Election Results Do Not Reflect the French Communist Party's True Influence"]

[Text] The French mass media have been closely following the way the press in different countries covers the presidential elections in France. But perhaps the biggest reaction here has been caused by the commentary entitled "French Elections: Second Round Coming Up" by IZVESTIYA observer Aleksandr Bovin (IZVESTIYA No 124) [published in the 4 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 17]. Particularly attention was paid to his analysis of the reasons why the French Communist Party [PCF] candidate, Andre Lajoinie, got only 6.76 percent of the vote.

The Paris newspaper LIBERATION was the first to report the Bovin article, adding its own commentary: "Moscow gunning for PCF leaders... Moscow accuses PCF of being unable to restructure itself." And there's worse to come: "The IZVESTIYA article may presage changes in the PCF leadership."

After this, the telephone never stopped ringing for a whole day at IZVESTIYA's Paris correspondents' center. I would say that most, if not all, French politicians and journalists have hitherto been convinced that every line in IZVESTIYA or PRAVDA is invariably sanctioned by the authorities and expresses the Kremlin's position. It cannot be any other way; anything else is simply not published. They cannot imagine that a Soviet journalist puts his own standpoint, which does not necessarily coincide with the official one.

The next day L'HUMANITE, the PCF organ, published an account of Bovin's article and a long response entitled "Glasnost" signed by its chief editor, Claude Cabanes. The main features of it are as follows: Commenting on Bovin's statement that negative processes in our country had weakened the Communist Party's influence, Cabanes writes that French Communists did not wait for the recent changes in the Soviet Union before expressing their opinion on the worsening serious problems in socialist countries and their grave consequences for communists' struggle.

The 22d and subsequent PCF congress, the chief editor continues, stressed the "need to carry out in-depth reforms in socialist countries which would help social progress, economic efficiency, and the development of democracy.... That is why when restructuring began, French Communists regarded it not with distrust but with a cry of 'At last!' At the 26th PCF Congress last December, they stated that the new choice made by Soviet Communists matches our own conception of socialism. We fully support the processes taking place in the Soviet Union."

While past years were a difficult period of stagnation in practice and theory for Soviet Communists, as they themselves acknowledge, C. Cabanes points out, that period was for French Communists a time of general reexamination of their concepts of socialism and considerable deepening of their analysis and of the changes occurring in a society whose goals are set by capitalism.... The PCF advocated a 'new alliance of popular forces which will enable them to defend themselves against capitalism and change politics, power, and society.'"

"This policy," the chief editor stresses, "has undergone a test of fire during the election campaign. Communists are not, of course, satisfied with the first round results. But they know that these results do not reflect their party's true influence. And they have acquired new trump cards which will help the French people resist the serious problems facing them and make progress toward solving them."

Cabanes continues: "Aleksandr Bovin quite clearly has no knowledge at all of the realities of French Communists' policy or the realities of capitalism or French political life as a whole.... Communists 'without a program'? But they elaborated just such at their 26th congress. This program is based on the demands of justice, freedom, and peace, and they defended them during the presidential campaign. Communists have 'no attractive slogans'? But Communists, on the contrary, say that their demands are the basis for the struggle rallying working people.... Communists 'lag behind capitalism,' which has 'adapted itself'? But the PCF's entire policy is aimed precisely against the destructive plans that capitalism is carrying out in the name of 'Europe 1992.' Whom will the article please? Not those, of course, who live, work, and wage struggle in France."

"Comrade Bovin," L'HUMANITE'S chief editor concludes, "you are an ardent champion of glasnost. I, too. We are publishing in today's L'HUMANITE the basic tenets of your article. I am certain that you will consider it your duty to make IZVESTIYA's readers aware of these few considerations of mine."

Latin America & Caribbean

CIA, Contras 'Drafted' Plot Against Nicaragua

LD0605142688 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Managua May 6 TASS—The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and counterrevolutionaries have drafted a plan under which forged documents were used to discredit the Sandinist Government and to aggravate its relations with friendly countries, the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry said in a statement here. The centre for the forged documents is in the Costa Rican capital San Jose.

A thorough investigation conducted by the Interior Ministry, the general secretary of the Foreign Ministry, Alejandro Bendana, said, revealed that the CIA produced this year eight forged documents as part of its frantic campaign to undermine the prestige of the Sandinist Government. These include a letter, allegedly written by Nicaraguan Ambassador to Mexico Edmundo Jarquin, which contained insults against the leadership and political system of Mexico, and a memorandum which imputed to the national leadership of the National Liberation Sandinista Front (FSLN) unseemly intentions with regard to establishing peace in Central America. Both documents were then published by right-wing newspapers inside the country and abroad, Bendana said, and used for unleashing a frenzied anti-Sandinista campaign.

The main aim of this "dirty campaign", the statement says, is to destabilise the relations of the Nicaraguan leadership with the governments of friendly countries, to call to doubt the seriousness of their intentions at the talks on establishing peace in the region and a ceasefire inside the country, to undermine creditability of the FSLN representatives abroad.

Nicaragua's Ortega Urges Dialogue With U.S.

LD0505095688 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Managua May 5 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has made a fresh call on the U.S. Administration to resume dialogue to normalise the relations between the two countries.

Receiving on Wednesday the credentials of a new U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, the Nicaraguan president stressed the need for the United States to observe the norms of international law and respect the right of other nations to independent development. The Nicaraguan people never threatened nor are going to threaten the interests of U.S. national security. The fulfilment by Washington of the demands of the International Court in the Hague to halt aid to the contras and stop subversion against the Republic would help improve the situation in the region and U.S.-Nicaraguan relations, the Nicaraguan president stressed.

Socialist International Meeting Held in Brazil

PM0605145288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 88 Second Edition p 7

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint" article: "Defending a Just Cause"]

[Text] A conference of the Socialist International committee on the problems of Central American and Caribbean countries has ended in Rio de Janeiro. It took place under the slogans: "Peace to Central America!", "Stop U.S. interference in Panama's internal affairs!", and "For democracy and progress, against the slavery of foreign debt!" Representatives of 14 parties from 11 countries in the region took part in the conference. For the Latin American parties belonging to the Socialist International, the meeting in Rio de Janeiro was a preparatory stage toward the session of the association's leading council, which is to take place in the Spanish capital on 11-12 May.

The communique that was adopted resolutely condemns U.S. economic sanctions and military preparations against Panama, and contains a call for unconditional fulfillment by the United States of the Panama Canal treaties. At the same time, the committee came out vigorously in favor of the peaceful resolution of crises in Central America and condemned the Washington administration's attempts to secure the appropriation of new funds by the U.S. Congress to finance the Nicaraguan contras.

It seems to me that the Rio de Janeiro conference is evidence of the widening support in Latin America for the course of the patriots in Nicaragua and Panama, who are defending their countries' freedom and honor. It is characteristic that, at the same time, the Panamanian capital was hosting the first international trade union conference of solidarity with the working people and the people of Panama. Taking part were representatives of trade union organizations from more than 70 countries, as well as many international trade union associations. "Yankees, get out of the canal territory!", "Down with the corrupt oligarchy!"—those were the slogans with which thousands of demonstrators marched through the streets of the Panamanian capital, showing the Panamanians' determination to defend their country's sovereignty and the solidarity of working people in other countries with the courageous country's people. Addressing the demonstrators, Jose Marin, an envoy from the Puerto Rican trade unions, declared: "The working class of the planet expresses firm solidarity with the Panamanians' struggle for self-determination."

These are just two episodes from recent days, but they indicate a great deal. The spirit of international solidarity lives in the working class and the working people's masses. The forces of imperialist reaction do everything to stifle it, to split the struggling peoples, and even to set them against each other. The arsenal of means used is as diverse as it is criminal. Economic pressure, for instance, has come into play against the Panamanian people. But the aforementioned international trade union conference of solidarity adopted a decision to send food and medical supplies to Panama urgently.

Increasingly diverse public circles are becoming aware of the justice of the cause upheld by the patriots of Nicaragua, Panama, and other countries. The other day a delegation from the European Parliament completed a familiarization tour of Central American countries. The members of the delegation hold varying political positions, but, nonetheless, at the end of their mission they declared unanimously that they assess highly the efforts being made by Central American countries to achieve peace and offered their own assistance in this sphere.

At almost the same time, Vernon Walters, U.S. representative at the United Nations, toured a number of countries belonging to the Contadora Group and Support Group, seeking, by all appearances, to influence these countries to change their position and join in Washington's campaign against Nicaragua and Panama. It is clear from press reports that the American general's efforts were not crowned with success.

The just cause of freedom and the weapon of international solidarity are becoming increasingly active in resistance to those who want to take away other peoples' freedom and independence.

Haitian Communist Leader Theodore Interviewed

PA0705224188 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 7 May 88

["Excerpt" of an interview with Rene Theodore, secretary general of the United Party of Haitian Communists, by correspondent Viktor Deruga in Haiti; date not given—recorded]

[Summary From Poor Reception] [Deruga] In spite of everything, Leslie Manigat represents the public order apparatus, and, therefore, the repressive apparatus. What tasks have the opposition parties, and specifically the United Party of Haitian Communists, set for themselves?

[Theodore] Look, comrade, "in Haiti, the Armed Forces, the public forces have so far followed Manigat as president of the Republic of Haiti only because they were unable to remain in power." Theirs is not a relationship of obedience or of a president-Armed Forces or a president-police relationship. This means, moreover, that the Armed Forces have the power—in reality, the president is a figurehead.

[Deruga] Nevertheless, the opposition forces must decide if they will react strongly with a radical change of structure, or if they will act within the framework of the current regime to gradually gain ground and to force the leaders to take national and popular interests into account. In this regard, what path does the Haitian opposition prefer?

[Theodore] The truth is that in Haiti, the Constitution has been worn out. Everyone is interested in the law; many are able to quote articles of the Constitution by heart. Therefore, the opposition must work within the law.

Political & Social

Dissidents Set Up 'Independent' Party

AU0705201888 Paris AFP in English
1953 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 7 (AFP)—About 60 people met in a private apartment here Saturday to set up a party, the Democratic Union, the first attempt to create a political organisation independent of the Communist Party since the Stalinist era.

Police made no move to prevent representatives from some 15 towns from congregating and several Soviet journalists even attended the meeting, an AFP correspondent said. Authorities did however call at the homes of the representatives before the meeting to advise them not to attend, representatives said.

The dissidents, including pacifists from the "East-West Confidence Building Group" and members of "Memorial", an organisation demanding the building of a memorial to victims of Stalinism, pledged to fight "totalitarianism" and called for "real freedom in the Soviet Union."

Yuriy Mityunov, a spokesman for the new organisation and a member of "Perestroyka 88", a group favourable to reforms initiated by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, said the Democratic Union aimed to group unofficial organisations fighting for "an alternative to the Soviet Union's bureaucratic regime." Current reforms aimed at restructuring Soviet society were "too slow" and could easily be reversed, Mr. Mityunov said.

Aleksandr Lukachov, member of the organisation's organising committee, called for "true democracy" in the Soviet Union and the setting up of a "political opposition." He also called for the freeing of political prisoners, the suppression of the KGB, the Soviet secret police, and for moves to combat the "privileges of the dominant class."

Soviet police repeatedly rang the door bell but representatives refused to open up.

"One is not offered liberty, one has to fight for it," said Valeriya Novodvorskaya, another representative addressing the meeting.

Police Arrest Members

AU0805194688 Paris AFP in English
1923 GMT 8 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 8 (AFP)—Soviet police arrested 60 delegates at a meeting here to set up the first independent political party since Stalinist times, a spokesman for the gathering said. The delegates at the weekend meeting founding the "Democratic Union" were rounded up and put on buses as they left the apartment of Yevgeniya Debryanskaya, member of a pacificist group, said Yuriy Mityunov, spokesman for the Union. The participants at the meeting were arrested in small groups as they left the apartment building, Mr Mityunov said. In two other apartments, where meetings were held, police carried out identity checks on those taking part, he said.

The congress opened here Saturday, attended by 100-odd delegates from 15 Soviet cities. The meeting was to end with a "plenary session" on Monday.

The draft statutes of the Democratic Union demand radical reforms, including the establishment of political pluralism, press freedom and the abolition of the KGB, Moscow's secret police.

Mr Mityunov was unable to say whether the arrested delegates had later been released.

Some Jailed, Some Freed

AU0905073988 Paris AFP in English
0725 GMT 9 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 9 (AFP)—Fourteen of the 60 members of Soviet unofficial action groups who were arrested here Sunday were jailed Monday, while the others were freed, a spokesman for the delegates, Yuriy Mityunov, said. The delegates had been arrested as they attended a meeting to set up the first independent political party since Stalinist times, the "Democratic Union."

Mr. Mityunov said the Moscow delegates were released soon after they were detained, while 14 of the 21 people who had come from other parts of the country were jailed. Those jailed had come from Leningrad, Tomsk in Siberia, Riga on the Baltic, Kaluga, near Moscow, and Pskov, in the northwest of the Russian Republic, Mr. Mityunov added.

Mr. Mityunov, who went on hunger strike Sunday to protest against "violations of the law by police," said that some 20 policemen had burst "illegally" into the apartments where meetings were being held and participants were discussing "political and judicial reforms."

The meetings had begun Saturday with about 100 delegates from 15 cities attending. Later Monday, delegates were due to vote on the "Democratic Union's" internal regulations. The meeting was to end with a "plenary session" on Monday.

The draft statutes of the "Democratic Union" demand radical reforms, including the establishment of political pluralism, press freedom and the abolition of the KGB, the Soviet secret police.

Police on Monday morning surrounded a house in Kratovo, some 40 kilometres (25 miles) outside Moscow, where "Democratic Union" delegates were due to meet, a dissident source said here.

Tamara Grigoryants, the wife of the chief editor of the dissident GLASNOST review, said police were preventing delegates from entering their home to attend the Union's "plenary session" which was to have ratified the draft statutes of the new political organisation. Mrs. Grigoryants, who spoke to her husband by telephone, said police had threatened to arrest him along with Viktor Kuzin, a member of the Union.

GLASNOST Staff Arrested

AU0905110088 Paris AFP in English
1052 GMT 9 May 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, May 9 (AFP)—Soviet police Monday arrested five members of the staff of the dissident publication GLASNOST and searched the home of its editor Sergey Grigoryants, his wife said Monday. Tamara Grigoryants told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone that she was afraid her husband would be arrested as well.

She said the police arrived in force to confiscate all the records of GLASNOST, which is named after Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of "openness." The police arrived at the Grigoryants home in Krakotovo, 40 kilometres (25 miles) from Moscow as delegates of the newly formed "Democratic Union" were about to meet there.

The delegates were to have ratified the draft statutes of the organisation, which claims to be a political movement independent of the ruling Soviet Communist Party. But Mrs. Grigoryants said police had stopped them from entering her home.

She also said police had threatened to arrest her husband along with Viktor Kuzin, a member of the Union. [passage omitted]

Armenian Protesters Call For Airikyan Release

AU0905135688 Paris AFP in English
1353 GMT 9 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 9 (AFP)—Two hundred people demonstrated Saturday in Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia, to demand the release of jailed nationalist leader Paruir Airikyan, a dissident source there said Monday. The demonstration was quickly broken up by uniformed and plain-clothes police and five people were briefly detained, the source reached by telephone said.

Mr. Airikyan, leader of the "Union for National Self-Determination", was arrested on March 24 in Yerevan on charges of "spreading false news and anti-Soviet calumnies." Two days earlier he had briefed Western press correspondents in Moscow on the recent wave of unrest in Armenia and neighbouring Azerbaijan.

The source also said that some 500 to 600 students had demonstrated in central Yerevan on May 1, following an official parade there, to demand that the Armenian-dominated Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan be attached to the Armenian republic.

Gorbachev Addresses Media Officials

PM0905084988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the headline "Meeting at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting was held 7 May in the CPSU Central Committee with leaders of the mass news media, ideological institutions, and creative unions. Matters concerning preparations for the forthcoming 19th all-union party conference were discussed.

The meeting was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Taking part in the exchange of views were Comrades Gribachev, chief editor of the Journal SOVETSKIY SOYUZ; Vikulov, chief editor of the journal NASH SOVREMMENNIK; Zalygin, chief editor of the journal NOVYY MIR; Afanasyev, chief editor the newspaper PRAVDA; Ananyev, chief editor of the journal OKTYABR; Laptev, chief editor of the newspaper IZVESTIYA; Baklanov, chief editor of the journal ZNAMYA; Falin, chairman of the board of NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY; Lavrov, chairman of the board of the USSR Theatrical Union; Nenashev, chairman of USSR State Committee for Publishing; Seleznev, chief editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA; Arkhipova, chairman of the board of the All-Union Musical Society; Karpov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Writers' Union; and Solynskiy, chief editor the journal TEATR.

Note was taken of the growing role of the press in the further development of democracy and glasnost and in cleansing public life of phenomena alien to socialism. In the period leading up to the 19th all-union party conference, the mass news and propaganda media are called upon to help still more vigorously and profoundly in renewing all aspects of our life, to support everything progressive that is being engendered in the process of restructuring, and to generalize and propagandize the experience that has been amassed.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev delivered the closing address.

Taking part in the meeting were Comrades Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Slyunkov, Yakovlev, Dolgikh, Razumovskiy, Baklanov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, and Medvedev.

Solovyev Attends Leningrad Gorkom Plenum
LD231340 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Apr 88

[Text] A plenum of the Leningrad Gorkom today discussed how restructuring is proceeding in the town's secondary schools and higher educational establishments, and how the party is carrying out the decisions of the February CPSU Central Committee plenum. The report and the speeches noted that courses in priority areas of scientific and technological progress are being introduced at educational establishments. Schools and vocational and technical colleges have been equipped with over 80 classrooms fitted with display screens. However, from the viewpoint of the high demands for the renewal of the whole educational training process, members of the gorkom said restructuring is still proceeding slowly. The following alarming figure was cited at the plenum: One out of every three graduates from secondary and higher educational establishments is doing a job that does not correspond to his qualifications. Young specialists are poorly mastering knowledge of specific economics and financial autonomy.

Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom took part in the work of the gorkom.

Shcherbitskiy Attends Kiev May Day Celebrations
AU0905083888 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 May 88 p 2

[Report by PRAVDA UKRAINY special correspondents V. Bonderenko and Ya. Oleynichenko from October Revolution Square in Kiev: "We Believe Restructuring Will Triumph—Kiev, October Revolution Square"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The color, the main color of May Day, flooded Kreshchatik and October Revolution Square. The festive appearance of the avenue and the square reflected the aspiration of Kiev inhabitants to give a worthy welcome to the 19th All-Union CPSU conference, to deepen restructuring with practical accomplishments, to strengthen the inviolable friendship among the peoples of our multinational homeland, and peace and cooperation among people on earth.

Party and October Revolution veterans, ex-combatants, advanced workers and production innovators, representatives of party, administrative, and public organizations, prominent scientists, men of letters and art figures, and foreign guests filled the tribunes.

Comrades V.V. Shcherbitskiy, Yu. N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu. A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and K.I. Masik mounted the Central Tribune.

The slogan "Long live May Day, the day of working people's international solidarity!" rose over Kreshchatik. The chimes of Kiev melodiously struck 1000. The festive demonstration began. [passage omitted]

Ukraine Government Examines Economy
AU0605142688 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Apr 88 p 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 27 April a session of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers was held to discuss the first quarter 1988 results of fulfilling the state plan for the economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR state budget. It also examined the progress made in accomplishing the tasks set under the Ukrainian SSR program for commodities and services, in increasing the production of consumer goods, in expanding the sphere of services, in balancing the population's incomes and expenditures, and in improving monetary circulation in the republic.

V.P. Fokin, Ukrainian SSR Gosplan chairman, and I.A. Zabrodin, Ukrainian SSR minister of finance, reported on the first item on the agenda.

It was noted that the working people's creative activity aroused by the preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the introduction of the USSR law on the state enterprise (association), the increased independence of labor collectives, and the application of economic accountability have had a wholesome impact on the results of work in the republic's national economy.

Compared with the corresponding period in 1987, the volume of industrial production in the first quarter rose 5.6 percent against the 4 percent targeted under the 1988 plan. Contracted obligations were discharged 99.2 percent compared with 97.4 percent discharged in the first quarter of 1987.

Labor productivity in industry rose 6.4 percent against the 4-percent increase targeted for 1988. All Ukrainian SSR ministries and departments fulfilled the plan for this index. The entire increase in industrial production was accomplished by raising labor productivity and by cuts in personnel. The 3-month plan was fulfilled by builders and transport workers. The plan for profits was overfulfilled.

The kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased the output and procurement of milk, milk products, and eggs.

The plan was fulfilled for commissioning houses built from state capital investments and from funds provided by housing construction cooperative societies, children's preschool establishments, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs, and houses of culture.

In the first quarter of 1988, the Ukrainian SSR state budget was fulfilled 100.9 percent in respect of revenues.

At the same time, the speakers at the session noted serious shortcomings in the work of individual ministries, departments, and executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies. The chances offered by the new economic mechanism have not been fully utilized, labor collectives have not been active enough in exerting their rights, and this has held back the movement on the path of restructuring.

Many enterprises, associations, and organizations fell short of the planned targets, and failed to stabilize the growth of production. Contract discipline is being violated, and 9 percent of industrial enterprises and associations did not cope with contracted obligations. In the Ukrainian SSR Ministries of Local Industry and of the Light Industry, the number of such enterprises is significant. Voroshilovgrad, Donetsk, and Zaporozhye Oblasts are below the republic's average level in providing supplies.

It was noted that most industrial branches had failed to eliminate shortcomings in material and technical supplies, and to balance production with allocated resources.

It was noted in particular that many leaders of Ukrainian ministries and departments worked inadequately to save resources. The economy targets for a number of items have been reduced, and many enterprises under the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and Ministry of the Building Materials Industry have not been provided with such targets at all.

The construction ministries were severely reprimanded. A significant lag was noted in construction and in commissioning production capacities. There are many complaints about the quality of construction. Capital investments for housing construction are not being fully utilized in Sumy, Vinnitsa, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts, nor are investments for the construction of health service facilities, in Zaporozhye, Voroshilovgrad, and Chernigov Oblasts.

The session thoroughly discussed the problem of food supplies and ways of further stepping up the output of meat and milk products, children's and dietetic foodstuffs, confectionery, and a number of other goods, improving the storing and processing of all procured produce, and improving the quality of foodstuffs.

Kirovograd, Odessa, Nikolayev, Voroshilovgrad, and Dnepropetrovsk Oblispolkoms were sharply criticized for having permitted a sharp drop in the production and procurements of livestock and poultry at farms in these oblasts compared with the corresponding period of 1987. Notwithstanding the sufficiency of feed, the productivity and number of cattle are sinking in a number of oblasts.

Much attention was paid to the organization of spring field works, and to switching cattle over to summer greezing keep.

Serious shortcomings were noted in the organization of trade. The first-quarter plan for commodity turnover was not fulfilled. The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Trade, the Ukrainian Union of Consumer Societies, many oblasts, workers' supply organizations in ferrous metallurgy and the coal industry, and other organizations fell short of the plan.

One of the main causes of the existing shortcomings lay in the fact that Ukrainian SSR ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, and gorispolkoms still have not fully eliminated the bureaucratic style of leadership by command, have been slow in restructuring, and have not provided the conditions necessary to adopt full economic accountability and self-financing.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has obligated the republic's ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, Kiev and Sevastopol Gorispolkoms to thoroughly scrutinize the first-quarter 1988 results, eliminate the shortcomings, and take concrete steps in order to mobilize reserves, ensure that associations, enterprises, and organizations work steadily and dynamically, and do everything possible to consolidate the changes made for the better in the republic's national economy.

Particular attention was drawn to the need to raise the level of production organization, and to provide the conditions necessary to democratize production management.

G.V. Dzis, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, delivered a report on the second item on the agenda. He noted that a number of the republic's ministries, departments, and oblispolkoms had organized the implementation of the Ukrainian SSR program for goods and services in an unsatisfactory manner, and proved to be unable to overcome inertia in providing a full supply of goods for the market, and in improving services to the population.

In 1986-87, the Ukrainian SSR Ministries of the Light Industry, of Local Industry, State Agro-Industrial Committee, and Gossnab fell short of the rates targeted for stepping up the production of nonfood products. The biggest lag in accomplishing the set targets was allowed to occur in Dnepropetrovsk, Donets, Odessa, Kharkov, Kherson, and Cherkassy Oblasts.

Many oblispolkoms have failed to take effective measures to step up the production of high-quality consumer goods at enterprises under all-union ministries; many of these enterprises have not been engaged in accomplishing this important task.

There are substantial shortcomings in trade services for the population, in studying and forecasting the demand for goods. In the state network, the availability of stores trading in nonfood goods is significantly short of the norm set. The rate at which advanced methods are being adopted in trade organization has been very slow.

The sphere of services is still underdeveloped. The demand of the population for many of them still has not been met. Vinnitsa, Kirovograd, and Kharkov Oblasts failed to cope with the targets set under the program for developing the sphere of services.

Individual Ukrainian SSR ministries, departments, and oblispolkoms have underestimated the importance of questions concerning the development of enterprises manufacturing consumer goods, providing services, and engaged in trade. The Ukrainian Ministry of Construction and State Agro-Industrial Committee consistently fall short of the limits set for capital investments, for construction and assembly work on projects of this type, and fail to ensure that they are put into service on schedule.

The shortcomings in accomplishing the tasks set under the program have an adverse impact on the satisfaction of the population's demand for goods and services, and on the balance between personal earnings and expenditures.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has obligated the republic's ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, Kiev and Sevastopol Gorispolkoms to thoroughly scrutinize the situation in developing the production of consumer goods and the sphere of consumer and trade services to the population, and to take concrete steps to ensure that the tasks set under the Ukrainian SSR comprehensive program for goods and services are accomplished in full in the current 5-year period.

The Commission of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers for Goods and Services has been instructed to intensify the work of inter-oblast coordinating centers for promoting the production of consumer goods.

Participating in the session proceedings were I.A. Mozgovoy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Trade Unions Council chairman.

The session was addressed by V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman.

Ukrainian Decision on Rovno Restructuring

AU0905075388 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 28 Apr 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined the work by Rovno Obkom to invigorate the working people's social activity in accomplishing restructuring tasks. It was noted that, guided by the directives of the 27th Congress and of the successive CPSU Central Committee plenums, the obkom took practical steps to deepen restructuring, and to engage the wide masses of the working people in accomplishing economic and sociopolitical tasks.

At the same time, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee found that the activity of the obkom and of many party organizations in the oblast fell short of what is required. They are slow in overcoming formalism and obsolete methods of leadership, and proved to be unable to engage all the working people in the process of restructuring and to ensure positive changes in the main sectors of acceleration. Attention was called to the lack of an enterprising position in settling problems concerning the development of the social sphere, and to the disparity between ideological work and the requirements of the present times.

The Central Committee has obligated the obkom to eliminate the existing shortcomings in leading the restructuring, and to concentrate the efforts of party, public organizations, and the soviets of people's deputies on developing the process of democratization, and on engaging the communists and all working people in the accomplishment of the 5-year tasks; to persistently renew the style of their activity, and to vigorously adopt the new forms and methods of leadership based on brisk work among people, on expanding glasnost, criticism and self-criticism.

The shortcomings in implementing the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers' decision on resource saving have been examined. It was noted that ministries, departments, party, administrative, and trade union organs have made efforts to economize raw and other materials, fuel and electric power. But many branches and oblasts in the republic are not accomvlishing satisfactorily the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress to turn resource saving into a decisive source to meet the growing national economic needs for raw materials and material resources.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has requested that the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, Gossnab, ministries, departments, and oblispolkoms eliminate the shortcomings noted, and resolutely put an end to carelessness with regard to the people's wealth, to mismanagement and wastefulness in the use of resources. They have been commissioned to take additional organizational, technological, and economic measures to overcome the lag incurred in accomplishing the tasks to save resources and to reduce the material intensity of production.

Obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been instructed to tighten control over the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers on the rational use of resources.

The Central Committee Politburo has approved of a plan for complying with the critical remarks and suggestions made at the 8 April 1988 Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet To Meet 3 Jun

AU0905083588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Apr 88 p 1

["Decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Convening a Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to convene the 8th Session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation on 3 June 1988 in Kiev.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet

The city of Kiev, 29 April 1988

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium announces the following items submitted for examination at the 8th Supreme Soviet Session of the 11th Convocation:

1—The progress made in restructuring the activity of the republic's administrative and economic organs to further improve consumer services, and to hasten the development and perfection of the sphere of services.

2—The Ukrainian SSR draft law "On the People's Discussion on Very Important Questions Concerning the State Life of the Ukrainian SSR."

3—The approval of the decrees of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Songayla Addresses Lithuanian CP Cencom Plenum

PM0605135888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent D. Shnyukas report under general heading "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Vilnius, 5 May—A Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held here today discussed the work of Vilnius City party organization in stepping up the ideological, class, international, and patriotic education of the population in the light of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum decisions.

The plenum was addressed by R.-B.I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Yu.A. Sklyarov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, took part in the plenum.

Pugo Speaks to Latvian Party Plenum

PM0605140088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent O. Meshkov report under general heading "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Riga, 5 May—The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum discussed the tasks of the republic party organization in stepping up the ideological, political, international, and patriotic education of working people at the present stage of restructuring. It was noted in the report of B. Pugo, first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, and in the speeches that in the course of preparations for the 19th all-union party conference the Communists and working people are becoming increasingly actively involved in the implementation of radical economic reform and seeking the expansion of democracy and glasnost.

At the same time it was noted that the restructuring of ideological work in the republic is still proceeding only slowly. The difficulties arising in relations between nations are largely the result of the underestimation of socioeconomic, historical, and psychological factors.

Panel Views CPSU Papers' Debate on Stalin

LD0805224088 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 8 May 88

[Panel discussion with moderator Aleksey Stroganov, Doctor of philosophy Lyudmila Buyeva, and prominent author Fedor Burlatskiy—Buyeva and Burlatskiy in Russian fading into English translation]

[Text] [Stroganov] It all began when SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, an organ of the party's Central Committee, on 13 March published a lengthy article that at once drew the reader's attention mostly for one reason—haven't we gone too far in terms of democracy and openness, the article asked and called for making amendments to the policy of renewal. Otherwise, it warned, we may see the day we shall have to save socialism. Nearly half of the article was devoted to the figure of Stalin. The author objected to describing the role of the late leader in a negative way. Three weeks later, on 5 April, we had a reaction from PRAVDA, the central organ of the party's Central Committee, which described the publication in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA as a manifesto of the opposition to renewal.

Our guests in the studio today are doctor of philosophy Lyudmila Buyeva and the vice-president of the Soviet Association of Political Sciences, Fedor Burlatskiy. They will focus on the three major issues in the center of the dispute—Stalin, what kind of socialism have we built and what kind of socialism we do need, and lastly, what are the top priority problems of the day. Here is Lyudmila Buyeva:

[Buyeva] I belong to the generation of Soviet people whose attitude to Stalin changed dramatically from admiration bordering on fanatism [as heard] to the highest degree of disappointment. The article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA asks: for how long shall we attack our authorities and things we hold sacred? No society can live without them. I wouldn't object to the second part of the phrase, but I'm emphatically against any attempts to put genuine authority and idols on the same plane. This is exactly what happened to the figure of Stalin. Many have been saying he did some things wrong, that's true, but we must preserve him as a symbol of our great victories. I'm confident that without Stalin we would have achieved much more than we actually did and we wouldn't have had much of what fell to our lot, the famine of the early thirties, massive repression, and the frustration of the first months of the war against Nazi Germany.

[Stroganov] At this point Fedor Burlatskiy joined the conversation to say this:

[Burlatskiy] True, many people still have illusions about Stalin. Over the past 20 years we've had no information about how the country lived under Stalin and this is the main reason for these illusions. Those who have read the report Nikita Khrushchev made to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party are few. Now that a wave of facts about those years has swept us many feel that they don't understand something, and they are disappointed. Very few have been saying openly that the repression of 1937 was the right thing. But many people still share Stalin's erroneous ideas. For that reason emotional criticism must be accompanied by critical analysis in order to derive lessons from the past. It's very important to inquire into Stalin's concepts that justified the distortion of socialism.

[Stroganov] Fedor Burlatskiy further elaborated on that issue, because it has a direct bearing on the second question: What kind of socialism do we have now, genuine or distorted?

[Burlatskiy] If we take a look at the history of our party and Soviet Government we shall see that there were two trends, two attitudes to socialism. One was embodied in what has been termed wartime communism. It was largely a result of the civil war and the devastation caused by it. But the wartime communism gave birth to the illusion that we can quickly leap forward into a communist society, avoiding the socialist phase. These illusions were supported by the hope for a world revolution. Lenin's New Economic Policy was an alternative to this. Stalin had always belonged to the wartime communism trend. In his works, Stalin repeatedly returned to the idea of a leap. In his last work, written shortly beofre his death, he claimed that we should soon introduce a simple exchange of goods and that money would be abolished. There was a certain policy behind those illusions, a policy of destroying market relations and of tight control of all spheres of life by the government apparatus. Under the influence of Stalin's views, the experience of the thirties, forties, and fifties was canonized. It was regarded as a yardstick in deciding what is socialist and what is not. This is the only way of explaining the fact that the author of the article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA sees the StaLin era as a perfect sample of socialism and the ideas of renewal as a departure from socialism.

[Stroganov] Lyudmila Buyeva had this to add:

[Buyeva] The opponents of renewal are perfectly aware that the reforms being debated now are going to cut the ground, the economic basis, from under the feet of bureaucrats and their apparatus. However, criticism alone won't put an end to bureaucracy, deeply rooted in excessive centralization. What we have described as public property was in many cases state property, and it was often used in defiance of the opinion of the people. This is what I call the distortion of Lenin's ideas of socialism. Maybe there is another way of describing it, but it's unknown to me.

[Stroganov] How does Fedor Burlatskiy see the return to Leninist ideas? What kind of socialism do we need?

[Burlatskiy] We should have a society with an economy that would be a combination of a planned economy and a market economy. In this type of society the property owned by the state will be gradually placed into the hands of the people. What would this mean in practice? Pluralism in the economy, state property, cooperative property, the property of public organizations, the family farm, and personal property—all of these forms of property would enter into a competition. The article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA seeks to produce the impression that the society is in a crisis and that returning to Stalin is the only way out. I believe we should move in the opposite direction—forward.

[Stroganov] Now a question to Lyudmila Buyeva: What is most important in this respect?

[Buyeva] I believe that the call for more socialism means more power to the soviets, governing bodies at all levels. Generally speaking this is a problem of redistributing power and areas of influence between the party, the soviets, government agencies and public organizations. If we have fine laws about people's participation in running the nation but these laws don't work or work poorly, they should be changed. Alongside economic reforms we should introduce a legislation specifying a new balance of authority between various social institutions.

[Stroganov] Fedor Burlatskiy made this comment:

[Burlatskiy] We are a one-party system and we must fully use customary mechanisms of democracy and find new ones. Openness and the freedom of speech are customary means and we have been using them. What Lyudmila

Buyeva has described as the redistribution of power or influence among various social forces is a new means. I would also add labor staff councils. The worker will have confidence in renewal only when he feels he is in the commanding position at the plant. Only the participation of a large number of working class people will make renewal irreversible.

Restructuring's Opponents, Timeservers Scored

PM0605165188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 88 First Edition p 1

[Ivan Podsvirov "Frank Discussion": "In a Crucial Situation"]

[Text] Restructuring has given our life an accelerated rhythm, filling it with lofty spiritual meaning. At the same time, it is also attended by many difficulties—a clash of characters and different viewpoints. And this is understandable, for the struggle between the new and the old, particularly if it is of a revolutionary nature, cannot proceed calmly, without complications.

But we must not give way to emotion and passion in any situation. Still less, to group interests, social and national egotism, or anyone's excessive claims. Courage of thought and action obviously consists in the fact that a person, finding himself in a difficult position, makes his choice according to his mind and conscience. Communists bear special responsibility here. Their party-minded principledness, endurance, inflexibility of will, and ability to adopt a worthy decision are manifested precisely at critical moments, in a crucial situation. In short, their ability to unite word and deed.

The recent events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh caused pain in our hearts. And this is borne out by readers' letters. Even now that life in Armenia and Azerbaijan has returned to normal, people are perplexed: How could such a thing have happened?

Of course, it is easier to compare and analyze facts and find reasonable arguments in a calm atmosphere. But at that time, during those alarming hours in Sumgait, the period of grace for reflection expired. Every second counted. Everyone had to make his decision, make his choice. Without delay. There was no time, as it were, for philosophy or Hamlet soliloquies. People's actions were dictated by the whole essence of the life they have lived, by their convictions, and, finally, by the strength of international and moral feeling.

The majority preserved their civic dignity. Rising to the defense of Armenians, their comrades and fellow countrymen, the city residents selflessly saved them from hooligan-like crowds—in their own apartments and houses and at enterprises. If their choice had been different, more innocent blood would have been shed. I visited Sumgait several days after the carnage and pogrom. An old Azerbaijani man was sitting on the steps of the party gorkom, grieving: "What have they done, my young man... For we lived here like brothers. But now I am ashamed to look relatives of the dead in the eye."

How could I not share the old man's great sorrow and not express sympathy for the families of those who have suffered! I saw sadness on the faces of the people of that city. They were experiencing a common grief. I talked with Z. Guseynov, general director of Sumgait's "Sintezkauchuk" Production Association, and with A. Mamedov, fitter and member of that enterprise's party committee. Azerbaijanis by nationality, they seem to have done the impossible and prevented disturbances at their own plant and in the hostels.

However, I also saw the faces of those who funked it, faltered, and did not even try to take measures to prevent a misfortune. Unfortunately, they included certain party and soviet workers and city militia staffers.

The bureaucratic system of cadre and educational work has belatedly [pozdnim chislom] taken cruel vengeance on us. It has struck at the heart of what we hold sacred—the friendship of the peoples. To justify themselves, officials and "the timid" now refer to the lack of instructions from above, the unforeseen nature of the circumstances, and so forth. Their explanations can hardly be taken seriously. A leader, particularly a Communist, is called upon to act with initiative in all situations, including ones out of the ordinary. If you cannot do this or are incapable of it, is it not better to give up the role of trail blazer which does not suit you?

The question will strike some people as being too categorical. But it seems natural to me. And not only to me. In fact, readers also reflect on the same thing, sharing their suggestions on the eve of the 19th all-union party conference. They demand that party members be called more to account and, where necessary, that the party's ranks be purged of persons who have failed to prove themselves.

The plans advanced by the party and the principles of revolutionary renewal meet with support everywhere. The front line of restructuring is now ubiquitous. It is to be found at workers' meetings and in fields taken over on a lease contract. In speeches at discussions and in scientists' tranquil offices. In sumptuous ministry offices... Yet you cannot fail to see that passivity and even lack of faith in changes have not been overcome. Ice hummocks are still rearing up in the path of the ship of restructuring. Moreover, the hidden opponents of restructuring are not averse to driving sludge ice closer to its hull.

Let us be frank: Conservatives are harboring a hope of slowing the ship down or even setting it in reverse. We underestimated them. Suddenly, through excessive conceit, they showed their true colors by rejoicing on reading N. Andreyeva's article-cum-letter. And many then saw for themselves that there are still people opposed to restructuring. Those responsible for the stagnation are yearning for the old days and will not voluntarily relinquish their administrative-edict stances. Not for nothing are they trying to intimidate us when they say: "Enough of democracy and lets have no more sifting through the pages of history! The time has come to save socialism!"

It is now clear why conservatives readily ascribe literally every difficulty and error to restructuring. In order to hold on to their "lucrative" jobs they are lumping everything together, as they say. And so all manner of rumors and fears are being exaggerated. Calculated blows are being dealt against the supporters of restructuring with methodical precision.

"What should we do?" Communists often ask. "We do not have enough strength.... Should we back down, give in?"

This is exactly what the bureaucrats and office parasites are waiting for. Our nonintervention only plays into their hands.

"I will not give in," S. Petrov from the city of Slutsk writes. "But what good is this doing me? I used to hold leading posts. I began to speak out against shortcomings and seemed to thereby set the majority of people against me. To cut a long story short, I was ostracized. I now work loading cargo. I do not feel debased or insulted by this. Nevertheless, in the eyes of my comrades I stand out like a 'sore thumb.' They look over their shoulders whenever they shake my hand: lest the management should see them.... I am a frank person and will tell you this: Restructuring has pulled many decent people, who possess a child-like responsiveness, out of the mire only to trample them immediately with the aid of those who only say that they accept restructuring."

Allow me to clarify what you have said, Sergey Petrovich: It is not restructuring that tramples activists and "responsive people." Teams of people opposed to restructuring are trying to settle scores with them. But they will not succeed in stopping the march of social progress. The expansion of glasnost and democracy is the guarantee of this. More and more working people are becoming involved in socialist self-management and becoming the real masters of their home.

Communists now care about who they elect as delegates to the all-union party conference. People who want to be treated like VIP's, people who are withdrawn and silent, or real champions of restructuring? Our envoys to the conference will not only have to defend revolutionary ideas and actions but also, if need be, boldly rebuff conservative aspirations. A great deal will depend on their firm stand of principle. And—the main thing—the fate of restructuring will depend on it. The fate of every one of us.

Less than 2 months are left until the conference. Not very long. But the tasks facing us are enormous. One of them is to thoroughly assess the practical, moral, and political qualities of the prospective delegates. We must not err in our choice. Because any error could prove unforgiveable. So we must frankly ask ourselves: Are we capable of honorably discharging our party duty to the end in this situation?

"We Communists must make the right choice. In favor of Glasnost and Democracy," R. Kovalenko from Kiev writes in concluding his letter.

The author of the letter has highlighted the last words by capitalizing them. Perhaps he is right to do so. The disputes and discussions in party organizations, in the press, and on television mainly center on these most important concepts. They are the dividing line between the active supporters of restructuring and those who are opposed to it and wish it ill.

So let us cast our votes for the real champions of revolutionary renewal!

Contents of KOMMUNIST No 7 Listed

PM0605170188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Journal's Latest Issue"]

[Text] Ideological problems of restructuring—this was the theme of a "roundtable" conducted by the journal KOMMUNIST. The latest issue of the journal, No 7, opens with the publication of this material under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference." At the focus of the discussion are problems of the renewal of socialism and tasks of the renewal of ideology which were raised by the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. The plenum ideas were concretized in the PRAVDA Editorial of 5 April 1988.

An article by V. Koptyug "Ecology: From Concern to an Effective Policy" and a roundup of readers' letters under the general heading "Democratization of the Party—Democratization of Society" are published under the same rubric.

The theme of an article by E. Figurnov is "Centralized Planning and the Market."

Theoretical and practical problems arising from the new political thinking are reflected in the theses for the discussion "Social Progress in the Contemporary World" which have been prepared by a team of scientists—international affairs experts—from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

The publication of a number of documents under the general headline "Minor Corrections Cannot Be Described as Rationalization" is pegged to the centenary of the birth of V.V. Kuybyshev.

The rubric "In the Socialist Countries: Experience, Achievements, Problems" features an article by N. Pasic [name as published] entitled "Contradictions in the Development of Socialist Self-Management Democracy in Yugoslavia" which was prepared by the LCY journal SOCIJALIZAM, and an article by M. Muntean about the Fifth National Conference of the RCP.

The journal publishes the synopsis of a book by West German Social Democrats about restructuring in the USSR, book reviews, and other materials.

Article Excoriates Bureacracy's Role in Past

PM251201 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 88 pp 1,12,13

[Yevgeniy Nosov article under the rubric "The Writer and Society": "What Are We Restructuring?"]

[Text] The way I see it, today's restructuring is nothing at all like making a few cosmetic improvements in an apartment when things are freshened up, a new coat of paint is applied, the old wallpaper is changed, and furniture is rearranged—in other words, the apartment is fancied up one more time.

It is not even like carrying out a major refurbishment of the whole block when a housing operation office team descends on it, clutters all the floors with wooden trestles splattered with whitewash, lengths of baseboard, and gas welding bottles and hoses, starts to noisily tear up the worn-out roof, throwing the old roofing to the ground, and rip out old sinks and rusty, sclerotic water pipes, and, having finally finished the interior work, gets down to the exterior: Filling in ruts and cracks, touching up the external trumpery, and, when all that is done, applying the exterior paint from whichever can the foreman indicates.

Things like this have already happened in our society's history on several occasions, but all these repairs and refurbishments failed to produce the desired gratification. The fresh materials and paints did not last long, the external plastering soon started cracking and crumbling again, and all the internal functional systems, whose installation bore the traces of hasty work, began—just as before—to develop leaks, jams, and malfunctions. In this way, any sense of renewal that might have developed quickly evaporated, and everybody again started living in expectation of better times to come.

For many decades on end all these repairs and refurbishments, and especially the constructional innovations by previous foremen which were not coordinated with either the aspirations of the residents themselves or with the general plan, led the external appearance and internal fittings of our home further and further away from its original concept. In the end, our renovations and alterations went so far that there was no air to breathe in our home, which was excessively partitioned off along departmental and caste lines, with too many parts sectioned off, with too many name plates on too many padded doors, while the human voice was at times muffled by the impenetrable barriers erected by an officialdom that filled it to capacity.

And yet, everything had been so wonderfully conceived!

In the wake of two long drawn-out and destructive wars—World War I and the civil war—which catapulted the people into the chaos of destruction, starvation, forced requisitioning of food, and a massive typhoid epidemic, we had to start almost from zero. We relied on nobody but ourselves, on millions of strong hands armed with picks and shovels. As well as on Lenin's inspiring design. The dream was to erect in the place of dilapidated, thatch-roofed Russia something unusual, majestic, equally fair for all, spacious for spirit and thought, bright and proudly standing high above the other oppressed peoples so that our common socialist home could be seen from far away flying the Red Flag, with its wide windows openly and honestly looking into our future and our past, at all countries in the world, at all the rest of the human world.

But Lenin was not fated to make this wonderful dream a reality. He departed this life having succeeded only in laying the foundations and leaving behind an extensive plan of what was to be done, and how, in the future.

If only this plan had been taken up by proper and good hands! It was fated, however, that the unrealized design actually fell into hands into which the great architect of the revolution did not want it to fall. Stalin took over the orphaned construction work.

The new foreman, having hung above the construction site the distracting slogan "Lenin is dead, but his cause is alive," got down to altering Lenin's plan to suit his own measurements. Imperious and proud, intolerant of anybody else's opinion, he adopted a hostile attitude to the idea of polyphonic management by popular assembly. This was precisely why one of the first things he did was to draw a thick line with his blue pencil of doom across the system of reciprocal glasnost flowing downward from above and upward from below. This system, according to Lenin's concept, was to play the role of a social ventilator, ensuring the regular flow of oxygen and preventing the mold of stagnation and moral decay. "There is no need for this," he frowned, and opted for one-way circulars instead of the two-way circulation of glasnost.

Gradually a kind of granite monolith, a kind of pyramid with its peak touching the clouds, something called democratic centralism started rising above the foundations of Lenin's people's socialism. Subsequent years showed that this something proved to be not at all democratic but the most primitive despotic centralism, wearing only a superficial cover of decorative sheep's clothing. This model was rooted in the deepest antiquity, having been applied in ancient times by the builders of the great pyramids. This entire autocratic, centripetal, and rigid juggernaut, no matter in which age it emerges, is invariably built on a uniformly thinking and genuflecting mass of people deprived of glasnost, a mass supporting a structure of hierarchical officialdom with lower stories propping up the upper ones and upper stories pressing on the lower. The gradually narrowing stories ultimately form a shining peak which is occupied only by the one who is the source of both life-giving grace and punitive thunder and lightning.

Even the ancients knew how to produce a uniform and genuflecting mass of people to move the blocks at mammoth construction projects. False information and perjury were used to level accusations of lese majeste against all bawlers who were good at contradicting and thought for themselves, or those on the other hand who kept somberly silent, averted their eyes, and failed to show proper veneration, and these were put in the stocks or sent to the galleys to teach all others a lesson.

Everything has been done in exactly the same way in our 20th century, the only difference being that the galley oars were replaced by saws. And then only where the supreme punishment was not used.

Here is an example of proceedings in a court of law (cited from "Transcript of the Trial in the Case of the Anti-Soviet 'Right-Wing Trotskiyite Bloc'...", Legal Publishing House, Moscow, 1938):

"State Prosecutor Vyshinskiy:

"'Were there cases when your accomplices, your fellow participants in the criminal plot against Soviet power and the Soviet people, threw nails into butter?'

"Accused (surname omitted by me—Ye.N.) [R. Conquest's 'The Great Terror,' reproducing this exchange, identifies accused as I. Zelenskiy]:

"'There were.'

"Vyshinskiy:

"'For what purpose? To make it "tastier?"'

"Accused:

"'That is clear.'

"Vyshinskiy:

"'Well, that constitutes organized sabotage and subversive activity. Do you admit that you are guilty of this?'

"Accused:

"'I do.'"

Vyshinskiy went on to cheerfully poke fun at the accused, obviously himself disbelieving the absurd accusations about tacks in the butter (as a matter of fact, how could you "throw" tacks into dairy butter?! How could this be done in practical terms?!)

"Vyshinskiy:

"'Did you not throw tacks into eggs?'

"Accused:

"'No.'

"Vyshinskiy:

"'Why not? Did it not work out? Were the shells in the way?...'"

And the punitive shots were fired, and the bolts clanged behind prisoners sentenced to life....

One could imagine him, alone in the pre-dawn silence of the Kremlin office, taking the secret lists from his desk, lighting his pipe, and, like a careful player, slowly and pensively embarking on his eerie nightly game of solitaire with human lives. Screwing up his eyes, he would go up and down the list of names, now and again marking someone with that same old blue pencil of doom. Nobody knows the reasons why the blue kite would pounce on any particular victim. But now, several decades later, the overall trend of doom becomes discernible: When clearing his way to indisputable power he would uproot the largest trees which overshadowed him and whose height prevented him from appearing taller than everybody else. Vengeful bitterness prevented him from halting even at the names of relatives who possibly either knew something or had at some time carelessly said something as between relatives. At times he would apply a particularly jesuitical method to break someone: Without touching the person in question, he would subject his wife or brother to repression, letting it be understood that the same fate would befall him at the slightest disobedience. And the crushed and humiliated man, with the fear of reprisal constantly hanging over him, would involuntarily turn into an obedient servant. This fate befell, for example, Molotov, with whom Stalin continued to maintain outwardly friendly relations. But he derived especially malicious gratification when he stirred up one victim against another. This is what he did with Marshals Yegorov and Blyukher, sending them to sit in judgment on Marshal Tukhachevskiy, their own comrade in arms. Soon afterward they were themselves executed by firing squad as a result of the same old stereotyped, fabricated accusation.

One fears to leaf through the 1983 edition of the encyclopedic reference book on the civil war: It lists the names of so many people whose lives were broken, crushed, and cut short! They all met a tragic end, but the reference book bashfully goes on as if nothing had happened to these people: "Thereafter in party and economic work." Or: "Thereafter in command positions." But there was no thereafter for them at all! And what names they were! Uborevich! Kosior! Gay! Bokiy! Yenukidze! Kork! Rudzutak! Gamarnik! Primakov! Yakir! Latsis! Kovtyukh! Zatonskiy! Unshlikht! Blyukher! Krestinskiy! Yegorov! Tukhachevskiy! Bela Kun! And many, many, many, many others. How many of them, of those others? Who knows?...

It was in this condition of shock that society was soon to don the greatcoats of the Great Patriotic War.

Were we not attacked in 1941 because the enemy realized that there could never be a better moment, that Russia could never again be so internally weak as at that time....

We marched against the enemy's tank armadas poorly armed and poorly equipped, not always with bullets in the cartridge pouches or with shells in the artillery limbers. We marched without the tank corps on whose deployment Marshal Tukhachevskiy insisted and which failed to materialize, without the supporting rocket fire which he had also suggested but which had been rejected as an idea originating from an "enemy of the people," without the marshal himself—a daring innovator, an educated and intelligent military leader, an expert in the strategy and tactics of German militarism. We marched, aware of the enormous moral and strategic losses we had suffered, as if well in advance, even before we joined battle, we had surrendered to the enemy three illustrious marshals, almost all the army commanders, the majority of divisional and regimental commanders, and virtually every single political commissar at all levels and of all ranks—you could say the soul of the army, its main driving force, and its most important weapon.

The advantage given to Hitler's Wehrmacht at the start was too great and too perilous!

Was it not this reprisal against the best command cadres, proven in the fire of the revolution and the civil war, which predetermined the subsequent loss of 20 million? Were there in fact only 20 million? Is this figure not too bashful? And had the loss of human life not been so great, would the territorial losses been so shameful and humiliating? It is impossible to list everything that simply might not have happened....

But yes, even so we gained victory! "We marched across half of Europe, across half the world...." The worn-out peoples awaited us and we, overcoming everything, finally came to assist them. They awaited us as Leninists and we arrived, maybe as victors, but as Stalinists. And those are not the same thing.... We arrived to teach them the future free life, having ourselves already lost it. We arrived as emissaries not of Lenin's soviets but of Stalin's political departments. Not with Lenin's democratic openness, but wearing Stalin's watchful frown and our uniforms fully buttoned up, presenting a front to thoroughly conceal from our brothers in arms all our social deformities and defects which consequently led to the decline of our prestige.

Stalin passed away in the early spring of 1953. The country was in mourning for several days. Flags flew at half-mast, people were silent, withdrawn within themselves. The light thought to be eternal went out, the icy cold of the unknown was carried on the chilly wind. The day of the funeral, with the eerie wailing of sirens, seemed to signify the end of the world. Many wept.

He was laid in the mausoleum, next to Lenin, as if equating the two of them. That was what servility dictated at the time.

But they had never been equals. Everybody had a clear idea where Ilich was leading. Toward the end, probably even Stalin himself was not quite clear where he was leading. The new stage-managed trials which began after the war but were equally as cruel, trials which—in the wake of our victory over fascism, the embodiment of monstrous illegality and cruelty—should not have been repeated; the crushing of the country's center of genetics; the mockery and abuse of major scientists; the cynical indulgence of the pseudoscientist Academician Lysenko, that Grishka Rasputin of science; the anathematizing of cybernetics, proclaimed to be bourgeois pseudoscience, as a result of which we lagged perilously behind in our technological development—was any of this a continuation of Lenin's cause?

And there was Stalin, laid in his coffin.

People filed by, timid and watchful, feeling perplexed and confused, as if filing past a deity who had descended from heaven and who, when seen at close quarters, proved disappointingly ordinary and transient: Dark, sunken eye-sockets, the narrow frowning forehead pockmarked in places, the smell of parchment-like dryness as if from a monk who has been fasting for a long time.

Basically, he was a lonely and profoundly unhappy person, burdened by a heavy conscience, who lived his life in gloomy solitude, without any relatives, whom he rejected, without loyal friends with whom he could find spiritual relaxation but whom he betrayed and cynically crushed, without interests or attachments, who probably never once fed the Kremlin sparrows; a person of a gloomy, medieval nature and unpredictable behavior, suspicious, sneaking around in soft boots, unbending, unaware of other people's pain and maybe even of his own.

He left behind a country that was broken-spirited and tormented by the trials, a country crammed full with informers, a country where barbed wire was in short supply until he breathed his last, a country where it was impossible—in broad daylight or without doing so in secret—to pick up works by Dostoyevskiy, Yesenin, Bunin, Aleksandr Grin, Andrey Platonov, Anna Akhmatova, or even Seton-Thompson, the last one simply because this wonderful animal lover had written about proud and freedom-loving wild animals and allegedly inculcated in our children antimaterialist admiration and compassion. He left behind a society without glasnost, a silent society, a society forced by the permanent threat of denunciation to think one thing, to say something else, and to nod in agreement with everything.

An old woman from the countryside, wrapped in a grey kerchief right up to her faded eyes, hoisting onto her back a sack full of bread loaves, spoke of his death as if to herself: "A-a-ah.... It can't get any worse.... Where would they find another like him...."

As a matter of fact, the countryside was not grieving over him: Having gone through everything, it was maintaining a restrained and strict silence.

Something had to be done about all this without any delay, and the party leadership—the primary sufferer of enormous casualties at the hands of its general secretary—made the decision to overthrow Stalin's personality cult and to free the party itself and the people from the cult's chains which fettered both awareness and will.

We can recall the pain and bitterness with which people heard Khrushchev's speech of exposure, how they listened to him with bowed heads, and how the sobering-up occurred gradually, with the passage of time, and released the trampled souls. But the most difficult job had been done—the windows were thrown wide open and many people heaved a sigh of relief, as if having cast a yoke off their necks.

People looked with searching hope at the newly appeared portraits of Khrushchev, the new replacement foreman: No haughty alienation, no arrogant leaders' look about him: an ordinary peasant's face with a totally unleaderlike snub nose and an open smile displaying two large teeth with a wide gap between them, which must have come in very handy in childhood for spitting when at play on the outskirts of Kalinovka, near Kursk. Altogether an ordinary, familiar figure: Dress him in a padded jacket and a cap with ear-flaps, and you have the spitting image of a kolkhoz team leader. There was something else that was also attractive: He did not spend all his time in the capital like Stalin, had to see everything for himself, kneading the soil between his fingers, picking at wheat ears, nibbling at the grain to taste it. A proper muzhik, as it were!

Somehow people could not believe that there would be no more prisons. And yet, in the far away lands with permafrost underfoot, camps were being disbanded, watchtowers were being demolished, and guard dogs were being put to sleep because there was no suitable further use for them.

And the surviving and released camp inmates appeared at railroad stations and on trains—with hair turned leaden gray in the camps, with sunken faded eyes, gasping for breath, shuffling along, old before their time. Silent and uncommunicative, they made their way to their homes, back to their equally aged and faded wives, to their grown-up, unrecognizable, and unrecognizing children, to their alienated families which had almost forgotten them, or rather to what was left of their families because their best years had been spent on different sides of the fence which separated them. Many of those who returned died soon after: They could not adapt, they could not withstand this taste of freedom just as divers who spend a long time at the bottom of the sea cannot withstand being quickly taken to the surface.

Entire peoples returned home, having fallen into disgrace in the past—Balkars, Chechens, and Kalmyks who had been exiled to a man from their native places. They shuddered to recall the drafty freightcars which had carried them away into exile. People traveled standing up, in a tightly packed cluster of crowded bodies, and only those who had totally lost their strength slid down onto the dirty, icy floor. The freightcars stopped occasionally at unpopulated places so that the dead could be taken out of the cars and buried in the snow....

Kaysyn Kuliyev returned to his home valley together with his fellow Balkars. David Kugultinov finally came back to his native Kalmyk land from a mine beyond the Arctic Circle. Poetess Raisa Akhmatova returned to her beloved Chechen land with eyes displaying a state of permanent fear....

Meanwhile, Nikita Khrushchev got down to demolishing the obstructions created by Stalin's cult, to shaking up ministries and departments, to smoking out the hamsters of officialdom nesting there, and to freeing the peasants from Stalin's kolkhoz serfdom and the savage, quitrent taxation. For the first time rural residents were issued with passports and were guaranteed monetary remuneration for their labor.

The people replied to one good deed with another: Many millions of hectares of virgin land and wasteland were plowed, sown, and rendered habitable almost overnight.

In order to provide tangible proof of the virgin land successes, orders were issued that all dining rooms should serve free bread. Orders were also issued that fresh shredded cabbage should also be distributed free. Just go to the bin and heap as much as you like onto your plate. Very nice, of course—vitamins!

But these were only the first steps along the path toward society's economic and democratic renewal. Not even steps, actually, but only half-steps. For example, the first year, after the virgin lands were opened up, despite the good harvest, still produced losses: Lack of roads, absence of storage capacities, high transportation costs for equipment, fuel, and construction materials, and the resettlement of huge masses of people tilted the scales toward loss. A final solution to the grain problem was simply not forthcoming in subsequent years either, and grain shortages in the country persisted as before. So it was a little early to be serving free bread in dining rooms. But nobody knew yet at that time that Nikita Khrushchev, hothead that he was, was inclined toward magnanimous gestures which lacked material backing.

And the same thing happened with democracy. The creator of the bureaucratic pyramid was toppled from its summit, ventilation holes were drilled in the moss-covered walls of the absolutist edifice, life-giving fresh air was allowed inside it. But the actual pyramid remained in existence. With all its hierarchical layers and even with the vacant autocrat's throne at the summit. And until a throne is taken away, there will always be a temptation to get to it and try it for size. In this way, everything that was undertaken could be described only as indulgence rather than as democracy. After all, we have come to accept that if nobody is grabbing us by the scruff of the neck, that is already democracy. In actual fact, you have democracy not when you are allowed to do something but when you do not allow yourself to do something. And everything must be based on this—the human commonwealth, the common cause, self-management. And it becomes possible only when man learns to constrain primarily himself rather than others. But it takes time to learn this!

At some euphoric moment in time, when apparent prosperity had caused a slight dizziness, some unknown demon slyly whispered: This is it, Nikita boy, your time has come: Meet your extraordinary destiny. Boldly pick up the reins, and off you go! Teach them a lesson. And how sweet it was to fall for all this. He tried the vacant autocratic throne for size—it neither pinched not squeezed anywhere. True enough, it was a little bit too high up: When he looked down, people appeared like ants. On the other hand, he could see far away, especially ahead. And he rather fancied doing something to take everybody's breath away and make them gasp. Even if nothing more than just catching up and overtaking America in the next few years. We had already gotten the better of it technologically: Our sputnik was already in orbit and there was not even a sign of theirs. The only thing left now was to outstrip them in living standards. Teach them a lesson, indeed. Or maybe build communism by, say, 1980.

Oh, this impetuous Russian character! Oh, the jaunty swagger—bow to the ground before it! Oh, the bird-like troika with its jingling bells! "Is there any Russian who does not love fast rides? Is it not within his soul—yearning to take off, to tingle with excitement, to say now and again 'To hell with it all'—is it not within his soul to love a fast ride?"

As for communism by 1980, people even then looked at each other in confusion: Could we have bitten off a little bit more than we could chew? Even if we actually get the better of America in every respect, abundance alone will not produce communism. Because communism is not like a table sagging beneath the weight of surplus: Come up to it and consume as much as you like for free. No, communism is not self-gratification, it is the triumph of human perfection, the result of prolonged and painstaking moral selection from generation to generation, the creation of a particular, highly moral environment implacable toward any nastiness. Come on now, really—"by 1980...."

And as for peaceful competition with America in terms of abundance—this means solid and patriotic work, it is not a matter of boastful assurances, not something to be done for the sake of reckless ambitions, putting the whole country's economy on the rack.

This is how the cards were stacked.

In our country:

In addition to the slovenliness, the neglect of selection work, and the chronic feed shortages, the scourge of our stockraising was the long, cold winter, with snowdrifts up to roof level and frost that bursts water mains and turns dung into concrete. Cows need to be pretty hardy to endure and survive such a winter, even inside proper buildings. It does happen, though, that the cowshed has tumbledown, cracked walls and there is nothing but straw to chew on. And even that is not delivered every day. And when the villagers start drinking to celebrate the feast days of either St Nicholas or St Varvara, their days-long revels make them forget to feed and water the neglected livestock. There have even been occasions when stock minders and cowmen have got so mindlessly drunk that they have set fire to the building and have burned alive both the cows and themselves, poor guys. You name it, it happens in this Holy Russia: I've seen it....

This kind of wintering—stuffiness, dampness, darkness, shivering with cold, and even hunger—is the cow's lot for almost 6 months: From November to April or May, and even longer than that in Siberia. But even in these conditions, the various plan-hasslers never get off the back of the poor immured, disheveled, and exhausted cow, which is chained by the neck until springtime, demanding shock labor in milk production and planned calving. Her last ounces of energy are exhausted in giving birth to this calf, and her only remaining concern is to stay alive. Thus, by the time the long-awaited spring arrives and she gets out to the first thawed patches of earth to warm up her back, all that is left of her is a piece of not more than average skin hanging on splayed bones. With May already past, out in the meadows in June, the grass reaches up to her udders—it would seem to be the best time for milking, but the required milk is still not there. The poor thing, she is greedily eating and eating until her tongue turns green, she can't even be bothered to flick away the flies, going all out to please the bosses (her soul is Russian, after all—compassionate, feels sorry for everybody!), but the milk is still not enough. She is still not up to record milk yields, because she uses up almost all the feed to make up for the weight loss in the winter. And just as she has gathered strength, here comes the first frost, the end of the summer's plenty. And once more, back to straw for 6 months at the end of a chain....

What was happening over on the other side? What trumps did the Americans hold?

Our Daisy had to compete against a strong, purebred, farmstead cow developed to meet cutthroat competition and then kept in the best possible conditions involving, at the same time, meticulously calculated costs per unit of output. So their cows are never left semi-starved, let alone without any feed at all, as happens in our country, but they are not given any excess feed either. They feed them the exact amount necessary to ensure that they are constantly in proper "form." Otherwise they are slaughtered. Thus their cow is always of a good strain, well-fed and looked after, just like a pampered, smooth-running racing, or rather milk production race, machine.

But the main factor is the granaries.

Ours contain straw, twigs, the occasional root plant, and not always hay, let alone grain rations.

The granaries on their farms contain more than one tonne of corn grain for every milk cow or head of cattle for slaughter per year. As well as the other material! Sorghum, soybeans used to produce high-protein concentrates, millions of tonnes of oil cake made from oil-bearing crops, technologically perfect silage, essential root plant feed, and the required quantity of sown grasses and hay made from them. Add to all this the natural pastures of the dairy belt and the prairies of the Great Plains.

And apart from anything else—properly organized work.

They bank on high individual productivity.

We pay hardly any attention to productivity, with the entire emphasis on head count. As far as they are concerned, the fewer the cows, the greater the advantage. We still feel that it is better to have more livestock. As a result of this, the ratio is one of their cows to three of ours. Or 100 to 300. But what does this proportion effect? Primarily the non-productive costs. In order to house the 300 head of cattle in question, we have to build three times as large an area of stockraising premises. This requires three times the quantity of bricks, timber, cement, slates, water pipes, troughs, mangers, and so on. Second, we have to have three times as much feed and natural pastureland. In addition to all this, these 300 cows produce three times as much manure during the winter, and cleaning it up requires three times as much manual or mechanized labor. All this goes to treble the prime costs of production.

But calculations like these did not give Nikita Khrushchev second thoughts. He was already obsessed, he would listen to no reason, and, without a second thought in his flushed head, took on the proudly crowing America, thus undoubtedly dooming his design to failure and the underdeveloped economy to discredit.

Having personally visited the States, looked at the fertile cornfields in Iowa, and scratched behind the ear the young bulls with high foreheads, reared on calorific grub, he brought back home an idea which he perceived there. Everything was apparently very simple! All we had to do was sow a larger area to corn. That was it, the panacea! We'd show them.... With all our vast land....

"It can be confidently said," one of the documents which followed said, "that the meat problem in our country will be successfully solved in the briefest of time periods, and we will have meat in quantities sufficient not only to satisfy our domestic needs but also to enable us to lay in considerable state reserves and to earmark part of the meat and meat products for foreign trade."

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating," people used to say in such cases.

The country embarked on the memorable corn-growing campaign, in a form in which it was neither understood nor accepted by the people. Generally speaking, the crop in itself is productive enough, provided it is treated in an intelligent fashion. But Kostroma is not Iowa.... In many Russian localities, corn proved an impostor, an uninvited transplant in the heart of our crop farming. It was rammed in, with fists slammed on desktops, without listening to reason, with reprimands flying and party cards being taken away, without any consideration for possible side-effects.

Since there was no vacant land in the arable regions at the time, it was initially introduced—or rather hammered in—in fields already sown to other crops, squeezing out not only the traditionally proven feed crops but even the grain crops as well. But this failed to produce the desired results. That was when the tractors invaded the meadows....

I recall how the water meadows of the Polnaya [Full] River were lost. The river perfectly lived up to its name, with water right up to the top of its banks. How many fish it had! What an expanse of meadows for game in the old river beds! But the main thing were the pastures, the source of winter feed! I used to set up my tent on the bank and, in just a few handfuls, used to gather a good bundle of aromatic grass to sleep on. Suddenly, land reclamation equipment arrived, roaring and thundering: bulldozers, brush cutters, excavators. In just one summer they cut down the meadow osiers, dug up the rhizomes, leveled all the old river bed meadows, and the Polnaya River itself, formerly free-flowing in the water meadows, was routed along a canal, straight as an arrow, with clay embankments. The water rushed along it, the river level fell sharply, exposing the crayfish lairs and the white roots of the reeds. The frightened fish rushed away and disappeared, the dispossessed lapwings and mallards hovered a long time above the unrecognizable meadows. On the very first day after the river was diverted, a cow slipped down the newly created steep bank. She was later dragged out of the river, and her carcass was left to decompose on the bank. For a long time afterward the village dogs used to gather and feast there, picking clean the bones. But corn simply refused to grow: Its shoots got drenched and sprouted withered and wan, as if diseased.

Sugar beet did not take off, either. And people spat on all that land reclamation. And the drained and abandoned meadow was covered all over with weeds and thornbushes, with the wind blowing their fluffy seeds in clouds and scattering them over the surrounding fields.

The final idea was to do away with the grassland farming system itself, to eliminate predecessor grasses from plant rotation, and introduce that same corn instead. In order to justify this encroachment, the system's founder Academician Vilyams was abused and discredited, his portraits were taken down, and his works were banned from educational establishments and libraries. Together with the grasses which played the role of restorers of the soil's nutrient balance, clean fallow fields—which let the land rest—were also done away with and replaced again with corn.

But these are by no means all the ambitious eruptions in that truly volcanic decade.

Stubbornly seeking ways to humiliate America, Nikita Khrushchev ordered that all cattle in kolkhoz members' hands without exception should be bought up. This administrative method made it possible to increase the public herd by several million head. But as the weather turned colder, it became clear that kolkhozes and sovkhozes were not in a position to house and keep the cows they had bought up, and some of them had to be slaughtered. From that time on, there were no more cows and calves in the countryside, and the stubborn old women, no matter how much people might try to persuade them now, are no longer willing to fiddle about with cattle. Television is better. And the result is that anyone in the countryside wanting to drink a glass of milk has a problem, a problem generated by that same ambition: "What do you mean, milk? There is nothing mooing around here any more, dear boy, the silence is deafening. If you happen to get to the next village, Alyabikhoyti, go and ask Anisimovna, I think she still keeps a cow. We don't even have one to look at now. They were all finished off."

Or let us recall the unfortunate resolution on horses. They were dubbed parasites, guzzling other animals' feed and disgracing the socialist motherland with their idle neighing and squeaky carts. But this was not just a matter of "idle neighing." Some sly courtier whispered in Khrushchev's ear that if a few million horses could be forgotten about, the immediate savings of feed would be enormous! As well as the almost equal amount of heaps of horse flesh! As well as leather for belts and soles! It was prohibited to feed horses and they were excluded from all kinds of records, in other words they were factually outlawed and the kolkhozes were willy-nilly forced to send them for slaughter. And these sad and depressing convoys of horses made their way to the knackers along Russia's roads—horses which for many centuries had been fed, groomed, tended, and protected from enemies. Even now there are horses abandoned to their fate, roaming the fields, some with small foals. Covered in long, thick coats, they winter among the blackthorns, in forest glades, or near isolated ricks, nibbling at the frozen ice layer and watchfully, cautiously pricking their ears whenever a human being approaches.

Meanwhile, milk churns are transported from stockunits to kindergartens on tractor-drawn trailers. While highly motorized America still keeps 10 million horses for delivery work.

And how about the implantation of decorative agrocities?! It did happen that, for the sake of such a stage-managed life, people were resettled by force, accompanied by militiamen, in state-owned apartment blocks with a communal toilet behind the fence. Meanwhile the abandoned villages were declared useless, yards were overgrown with thistles, radio towers leaned over and fell down, wells dried up, and the wind frayed the decaying, off-white flag flying from the roof of the boarded-up school.

Or the repeated amalgamation of kolkhozes and their transformation into showpiece giants where everything was enormous: the fields, the tractor runs, and the aggregated incomes running into millions (just like the debts), and the only tiny element was man himself, whose voice was increasingly lost in the endless impersonal land, no longer lovingly tended by its tiller.

Just think of the confusion that was created by all the structural leadership combinations like, for example, the creation of oblast and kray national economic councils, the latest in the series of paperwork and red tape edifices! Or by the division of party obkoms into industrial and agricultural obkoms, with all sorts of disagreements and unnecessary confrontations immediately developing between them. Or the division of small oblasts into even smaller ones. Our Kursk Oblast was divided into two: Kursk Oblast proper and Belgorod Oblast. Both with identical economic features: They had ore and we had ore, they had sugar production and we had the same.... Even the fiery Kursk bulge had to be divided between the two oblasts: The southern sector went to Belgorod, the northern stayed with Kursk. And the territory of the former Kursk Oblast is now the arena for activities by two obkoms, two oblispolkoms, two oblast agriculture administrations, two militia contingents, two oblast public education sections, two oblast public health administrations, two oblast statistical administrations, two oblast movie rental administrations, and so on. Everything at oblast level is now in pairs. And the state is in fact paying all the officials twice as much. What was there to be divided, with only 150 km separating Kursk and Belgorod?! The same double price is being paid for the separation of Lipetsk from Voronezh, divided by only 162 versts of land.

Decisions and resolutions, orders and instructions descended like hailstones, lower-ranking organs could not manage to keep up to date with their interpretation and assimilation, and they were in the grips of nervousness and vacillating uncertainty about the future. It was against this background that a tragic shot was fired in Ryazan: Obkom Secretary Larionov committed suicide. But many others, accustomed from Stalin's time to not contradicting anything, adapted to cooking the figures for display purposes and started frankly lying in their reports, presenting the wishful thinking at the top for reality at the bottom.

One more shot was fired in the early sixties: The desperate Valentin Ovechkin attempted suicide after vain attempts to halt the destructive experimentation in the countryside, after repeatedly addressing Khrushchev on this account but with no result.

Then, like harbingers of impending doom, the dust storms began—the direct consequence of excessive plowing up and the disruption of plant rotation. The winds lifted up millions of tonnes of disturbed soil from fields in the Kuban and Stavropol regions. Overnight, the fields around Kursk, still under snow just before the spring, were covered in black drifts. The black suspension penetrated through the windowpane putty, lay black on window sills, on writing paper, and—of course—on the soul....

Similar dust storms occurred repeatedly after that.

Despite the optimistic diagrams showing the growth of milk yields and weight gains, and before they had faded or were washed off by the rains, meat and all meat products started disappearing from the store shelves. Followed by all dairy products. Even the limp lumps of processed cheese disappeared within a matter of days. We were left with noodles and pasta. In the spring, bakeries ceased their planned production of white bread sticks and loaves, and confectionery shops shut down. White bread was issued only to certain invalids and children of preschool age on production of stamped certificates. Bread stores and dining rooms posted notices asking people to think again how much bread they actually needed. The threat of ration coupons hung over the country. In short, we had got there....

"The boss's cap" proved a little too large for "our guy."

Nikita Khrushchev, despite his image of a simple-minded peasant, proved to be someone stubborn and willful, capable of going into sudden and violent fits of anger and of unceremoniously and crudely abusing people before hearing out the full argument. Even though he introduced a series of measures against Stalin's monopolism, he himself adopted a one-man, willful, and unquestionable management of the country and took over in addition the duties of chairman of the Council of Ministers without having the tendency toward considered and detailed socioeconomic analysis of the situation.... Ultimately, society got tired of impetuous and unpredictable experimentation; it wanted sober deeds geared toward the long-term future.

Above all there arose the new leader problem. The top echelon, where such matters are decided, had experienced much embarrassment during the unruly decade as a result of direct contacts with its boisterous leader. So it was perfectly natural that a new candidate should be chosen according to the principle of opposites. Whereas, for example, the predecessor had been hot-tempered and unruly, his successor had to well-disposed toward and cooperative with everyone and have the patience to listen to and take advice and recommendations. Conduct was also conditioned: He would carry out his immediate duties quietly and without fuss and without traveling around the country unless absolutely necessary—something Khrushchev used to do often and ostentatiously, in a special train with a large suite of experts, advisers, and cooks, and even with a cavalcade of limousines on the platforms.... In short, let the country come to its senses, recover from the innovations it had experienced.

Leonid Brezhnev was the candidate who emerged.

And he behaved in a fitting manner. To put it another way, as they say among the masses, he was not pushy. Pictures of him in the papers were rare and modest. And there were no speeches or homilies. Everyone liked that. Quiet at last. The country took a break.

But the country took a break by working. The Bratsk GES was launched at full capacity, the "Druzhba" gas pipeline was commissioned, the Volga-Baltic Waterway was completed, the world's first soft landing on the moon was made by an automatic station.

Meanwhile, the unsleeping eye of the bureaucracy sized up the new leader, determining its tactics in the new situation. After a while a crafty additional phrase appeared in the papers: "...and Leonid Brezhnev personally." The leader did not object and obediently accepted the tribute. The additional phrase quickly caught on and, as well as being found in the papers, it could be heard at various important meetings. Instead of bland, humdrum "First Secretary," the old title, "General Secretary," as used by Stalin, was proposed—a stately title, bringing immediate elevation above everyone else. The new title fitted the face and sprightly figure very well.

Now the Hero of Socialist Labor gold star on the General Secretary's broad chest looked very lonely, so he was given the Hero of the Soviet Union star, first for Malaya Zemlya and subsequently another three Hero stars simply for solid respectability and an authoritative air.

They also considered it necessary to get him to try on a marshal's uniform, a beautifully made garment in a pleasant, curdled milk color, and it fitted him perfectly. The marshal's "Victory" order, adorned with diamonds and jewels, completed the resplendent picture. Yet another man-made guiding light was appearing above the country. Yet another sun that did not set.

It is good, of course, to have an authoritative leader in charge of the country. And for this to be, it is necessary that he should establish his own authority. But...the leader was being made by others.

Finally, there was yet another nice surprise: Apparently, the leader, now a man of advanced years who had started to forget in what pocket he had put the notes made by someone else for his "own" speech, was also a major writer! And although even then loose tongues were wagging, saying that "Malaya Zemlya," "Rebirth," and "The Virgin Lands" had been knocked off by a team of contract writers, the officially recognized major author was awarded a Lenin Prize for outstanding services to literature. On that occasion his was the only name on the list of contenders. It was a way of emphasizing that it would be intolerably arrogant for anyone at all to take his place alongside such an exceptional talent.

The leader accepted the prize and, as many people recall, promised in his reply to write more....

The members of the jury and the important guests attending the ceremony applauded this generous promise.

The compliant, obliging leader of the "Lenin type" readily took everything that was given to him, but he also gave without demur everything that was requested. He generously signed the documents that were pushed under his nose, handing out orders, titles, offices, appointments, promotions. We do something for you, you do something for us.

And he put the bureaucracy in charge of the most important thing—the leadership of the country. Rarely traveling, swaddled, wrapped in an intricate cocoon of adulation, mummified alive, he gleaned a picture of his own country only from newspapers which were eager to please, from fancy reports, and gussied-up statistics. And the documents always looked soporifically splendid.

The deed was done, the leader was in a state of nirvana, and the bureaucracy, the accretion of decades, was crawling out of all the secret nooks and crannies into the reconquered operational sphere. It was now completely free to exercise its will with impunity!

As is known, bureaucrats are not born. People are infected with bureaucratism. In the same way that they are infected with chicken-pox, for example. Like any bacterial disease, bureaucratism needs a suitable environment and favorable prerequisites if it is going to manifest itself. Affecting people's mentality, primarily people who have even the slightest odor of power, and spreading both vertically and horizontally, bureaucratism, being highly malleable and able to adapt to different social and political situations, can flare up in certain conditions, assume massive proportions, and even turn into a pandemic.

Stalin's absolutism, which provided the masonry to support the bureaucratic system, was not, however, a suitable medium in which the bureaucracy could flourish. Officials at all levels, carrying out the supreme will and themselves possessing considerable power, still felt inhibited in the conditions of Stalin's royal guard. Moreover, Stalin, a political gambler who was scornful of earthly blessings, did not allow his bureaucrats to get fat either, keeping them lean and hungry. But it was the atmosphere of cruelty and intimidation that contributed to people's moral deformation, because fear is a basic ingredient of indifference, hypocrisy, and servility, which, in turn, are the breeding ground for other, derivative ills. Fear destroys human dignity, distorts consciousness, and makes people prostrate themselves at the sight of polished bronze.

The atmosphere was particularly harmful for the younger generation in the postwar years. By absorbing the demoralizing drug of servility and breathing it in at the stage of their formation as citizens, many young people were, as it were, inhaling the infection of bureaucratism, becoming carriers of a dangerous social disease. And this led to civic apathy, disregard of accepted moral and spiritual values, and direct involvement in creating the stagnant atmosphere in the country.

Dictionaries are somewhat condescending about our home-grown bureaucracy. A bureaucrat is described as an official who performs his duties in a formal manner that is prejudicial to their purpose. Would you believe it, sometimes he will absent himself during office hours and put off until tomorrow what must be done today. But he is still our own, Soviet bureaucrat.... Whereas "over there" it is a different matter. All the conditions exist there for bureaucracy to flourish. They have an "hierarchically organized management (political, economic and so on) system which is separate from the people and alien to them and which makes self-preservation and reproduction the basic rule of its operation."

Ah, if only all it did was carry out its duties in a formal manner! But our bureaucracy has graver transgressions on its conscience.... Wasn't the hierarchically organized mafia of high-placed swindlers and embezzlers in Uzbekistan divorced from the people? Wasn't the basic rule of their operation "preservation and reproduction"?

And what link was there between the people and Kunayev's hierarchical system of careerists from whom hundreds of secret hotels, hunting lodges, and other plush haunts, protected by fences, keep-out signs, and guard posts were seized? This whole Disneyland of entertainments was built with the people's money and, of course, the talk in the langorous saunas, in the luxuriantly carpeted rooms, amid the aroma of shashlik and dumplings, and in the company of gorgeous geishas was not about the people's welfare....

Anyone could think of hundreds of examples to add to these glaring ones, but it is hard writing about them.

One feels sick merely thinking about the monstrous destruction and damage caused to our tormented countryside, tugged, beaten, and lashed by the reins of the bureaucracy. Kolkhoz members were unable to take a step without "valuable" instructions from armchair theorists: when to sow, when to weed, when and how to harvest—direct or windrow—and how deep to plow.... And it was the same slogan all the time: Give, give! Get a move on!

The outcome of all this was the sad fact that the countryside's productive forces were practically destroyed during the stagnation years. Many kolkhozes were left without kolkhoz members. I know Kursk sugar beet fields that had to be cultivated by hired workers brought from Moldavia. No, it was not the absence of clubs, sewing workshops, and television repair shops that drove the peasants from their home areas. They had spiritedly endured long years of bureaucratic chicanery and tyranny, they had heard of the promised prosperity over and over again, they had had promises and valuable instructions aplenty, and they had had a a bellyful of abuse from the boss.... The tillers of the soil didn't give a damn and just went their way.

No, the nature of bureaucracy is the same everywhere. A parasite on society, including socialist society, bureaucracy adapts to its sociopolitical structure and takes cover behind the social slogans that flutter above it at the particular moment. There is and there can be no principled, patriotic bureaucracy!

By the mid-seventies, when Brezhnev had been completely enmeshed in adulation and isolated, our native, home-grown bureaucracy took full advantage of the situation and underwent a blatant legitimization in its most noxious form—the form of a trivial, petty, money-grubbing bureaucracy. The lofty slogans we had inherited from Lenin, urging society to social activeness and moral improvement, faded because of a blank lack of receptivity and hung limp in the motionless air, becoming a commonplace.

The word "comrade," which had always signified the supreme spiritual entity, became in fact a sign of cold alienation. When they said: "Comrade so-and-so" it meant they were dissatisfied with that person. The elevated Leninist "citizen" was now used when somebody had gotten into trouble....

Different criteria, from the "beaver-fur collar" code, gradually spread, like a creeping plant, replacing the old criteria. "If you're from Ivan Ivanych, go through, dear fellow!" "A black automobile is not a luxury, but a means of advancement." "Elbows are not for leaning on, elbows were given for pushing." "If you get caught, slip him something." "The one you catch is not a thief if you get a share with him...."

These things were not said on the quiet, among close friends, but were pronounced in public, became part of life, and penetrated the people's consciousness, especially the way young people looked at life.

Bureaucracy seeks accomplices everywhere—from the top floor to the street corner. It seeks to get a hold on people, for a mutual bond, and to establish a unified system, as is done in the energy sphere. But even that is not enough: It longs to look respectable and cultured. To that end its tries to give its blood a blue hue, to link up with art and literature. I too have often seen fashionable, luxurious beaver collars sprinkled with a dust of ice in the lap of the bewitching muses. And what muses! Once I went into a store not long before closing time. I stood there looking at the stationery. Suddenly I heard a wet rag slopping about my feet. In a rush to get straight before closing time, Manya—let's call her a cleaner—had started washing the floor, ignoring the fact that there were still customers there. "What are you doing with that dirty rag around my shoes?! You just look out," I joked, "what if I am a boss or something?!" But Manya did not even look up: "What do I want to look at you for: Bosses don't hang around stores!" And she started slapping around even harder, as if trying to show that I was a complete nobody as far as she was concerned. The floor cloth was now an instrument of authority. So what if you have charge of an institution, administration, or ministry?

Corrupting the people, awakening the most primitive instincts in them, converting them to a faith devoid of spiritual content, whose main idols are a cushy job and plenty of money—this is one of the chief concerns of the money-grubbing bureaucracy in its effort to maintain an optimal environment.

There is an abusive "No!" But there is an even more indifferent "Mustn't." To anything sensible and useful. The hand of prohibition was raised against our production, science, art, and literature, it was raised in the face of our intelligent, sharp, and infinitely gifted people. Because any movement at all, let alone the pulse of people's initiative and thought, made undesirable waves in the stagnant immovability of the bureaucracy.

In a village near Oboyan an eccentric craftsman, maker of bicycle frames, ski sticks, and duralumin folding beds, manufactured an airplane and performed a few victorious circuits above the house of his mother-in-law, who had not believed the dreams of the country-boy Icarus. But the next day some unsmiling comrades arrived and made the craftsman saw off the airplane's wings in their presence.... "Mustn't," they told him. "Why do you do these things?"

After that Icarus left his village.

There was a danger that the whole country would lose its wings....

So what are we restructuring?

In ancient times the pyramidal structure of society, in which one stood above the others, trampling on those beneath, with everything looking toward the summit, existed because the one who sat on top, fanned by palms, was allegedly sent by God himself. Even then the protosystem was bureaucratic, with an enormous hierarchy of officials—from high priests glorifying the hierarch and keeping subjects mindful of his direct link with heaven, to petty collectors of taxes for the glory and prosperity of the supreme power. And they believed this and prostrated themselves, because that was the level of thinking in the primeval, primitive state formation of those remote times.

But it was strange to see this almost divine presence establishing itself only recently in a country armed with advanced social ideas. The pyramidal social system with an absolute ruler on top, imposed on the people by Stalin, effectively existed, with various modifications and renovations, but still a closed and ill-ventilated autocratic edifice, until the 27th CPSU Congress, which deemed it anachronistic and futile. It was defective also because between the foundations and the top there was a massive structural void filled with tier upon bureaucratic tier. And the slope was too steep and inaccessible. The more tiers there are dividing society and its economy, science, and culture into levels of subordination, the greater the "multiplicity of authority" and "multiplicity of instructions," as Dal put it. And the steeper the side of the pyramid, the more one has to dislocate one's neck (conscience as well) to look at its glittering summit and the fainter are the voices crying at its foot.

The servile, hierarchical thinking implanted in the people, which was allegedly supposed to unite and direct society, in fact resulted in rigid thinking, inertia, civic flaccidity, and indifference. And also the monstrous mass phenomenon whereby the main thing was not work, activity, trade, creation, science, artistic activity, and self-expression, all in accordance with accepted moral values, but the paramount thing was the quest for the most prestigious, the brightest place beneath the luminescent sun that radiates abundance. And we forgot how to grow grain, wield an ax, or turn a simple screw, driving it right in instead with a hammer. The colors we created were dull, the glue lacked some ingredient, we did not dry out the timber properly, the rubber was not quite rubber, our machinery was microns out, so other skillful peoples ceased to buy what had been made by our inept, indeed unconscientious hands. As in ancient times, they took from us only what had been made by nature: oil and gas, timber and ores, furs and pelts, caviar and noble fish, the last of our sturgeon and beluga, elk with antlers and pelt, fungi, and honey, of which they had little of their own, and even Volga crayfish for beer lovers abroad. A sad list it is....

And we, as if we came from distant, foreign islands, would proudly walk around sporting foreign labels, vying with one another for the flashiest and eagerly dancing to a dubious foreign tune.

The country was obviously being sucked into a state of stagnation, it was being stolen, plundered—in pocketfuls and in wagonfuls—but people were still cheerfully claiming that it was developed socialism.

Our socialist brothers looked at us with growing bewilderment. They could feel there was something amiss with their elder neighbor. But we, as ever, haughtily, arrogantly refused to see it. But the "mistakes" and "distortions" built up to such dangerous proportions that even from the top of the pyramid one was unable to discern the prospect of further movement. The sacred question inevitably arose: Who are we? Where are we going?

Until recently all our leaders have resembled runners, one replacing the other after a period of time, but running without a baton.

The wisdom and courage of the 27th party congress lay in the simple decision for the first time openly and nationally to go back and raise the lost baton symbol. Going back does not mean retreating. It means going back to Lenin, acquiring strength and faith, and choosing the truest and shortest way forward.

Going back to Lenin is above all recognizing the vital need for the in-depth, thoroughgoing democratization of society. Not just slackening the belt, letting it out two or three holes, as has happened before, but total removal of the belt as a means of administrative action. Of course, this is not connivance at anarchism and ochlocracy. Democracy is the very self-sharpening instrument of people's self-awareness and self-discipline that becomes more reliable and more effective the more it is used. Having acquired strength, democracy is capable of confidently opposing both destructive anarchism on the left and stifling bureaucracy on the right, in the same way as the turf of a meadow, a cohesive community of grasses, resists the spread of thorn-apple and thistle.

The ultimate purpose of today's restructuring is to revive for the people a genuinely democratic and genuinely people's way of life in which, for example, the land belongs not to raykoms, as it has hitherto, but, in Leninist fashion, to the peasants and their land associations, and power, in Leninist fashion, to the soviets....

Our one-sixth of the territory of the world should be, in Leninist fashion, a real Soviet Land! Our common home beneath the red banner of October—equally just for all, offering scope for the soul and the mind, with wide windows open to our past and our future, looking with dignity and tolerance on to the rest of the multifaceted and beautiful human world.

Economic

Ability, Reality of Meeting World Standards

PM0505145388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "World Standard: Dream or Reality?"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has passed to the editors reports characterizing the quality of our industrial products. It is pointed out here, in particular, that the proportion of models whose technical standard exceeds the standard of the best world analogues stood at 9 percent of the total number of models created in 1987 (14 percent in 1986).

Let us ponder these figures, esteemed readers. They mean that more than 90 percent of newly created models of industrial products do not meet world standards—they are known to be uncompetitive!

I called V.V. Kadannikov, director of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant's Scientific and Technical Center, in Tolyatti.

"Vladimir Vasilyevich, it was precisely your association's collective that was once set the specific task of making motor vehicles which not only are not inferior to foreign analogues but also surpass their technical standard. How realistic is this?"

"The models we make are not inferior to their foreign counterparts. However, we cannot yet put them into series production. We need new structural materials, including particularly strong and durable plastics. We need fundamentally new subassemblies. A work program has now been approved with 20 scientific organizations and scientific and technical centers to create new materials and technologies for future Zhiguli models. Yet this program will be unable to satisfy all our needs. The list of fundamentally new materials that we need by the year 2005, which we have drawn up with due regard for world trends, is considerably more extensive. This work could drag on for a long time unless we can find the economic levers to interest science, subcontractors, and suppliers in good end results..."

Well, such misgivings are far from groundless. A statistical summary attests that just 18 percent of new models of output are created in the space of a single year. It took 2 years to manufacture 37 percent of models. Some 24 percent were developed over 4 or more years. A slow, very slow pace. Is it any wonder that new models of output become obsolete even before they are put into series production?

To be fair, it should be pointed out that last year the average time taken to create models of new machines, equipment, and instruments decreased somewhat: 2.4 years against 3 and 3.1 years in 1985 and 1986 respectively. But, at the same time, the number of such models also fell! Whereas in 1986 we obtained 3,110 of them, in 1987 we obtained just 2,724. Power and electrical engineering equipment is being renewed particularly slowly: 42 and 454 models respectively in 1986, and 39 and 359 in 1987. The pace of the creation of new metal-cutting machine tools has also fallen: 240 models in 1986, and 150 in 1987.

Naturally, the low technical standard of industrial output has also affected the structure of our exports and imports. Whereas, for example, the proportion of machinery, equipment, and means of transport in the total volume of exported output stood at 20.7 percent in 1960, it stood at 15.5 percent in 1987. The proportion of exported fuel and electricity increased during the same years from 16.2 to 46.5 percent...

Not relying on our own resources, we are increasingly frequently resorting to purchases of industrial equipment abroad. In 1986 the share of machinery, equipment, and means of transport in the structure of imports stood at 37.1 percent. In 1987 it stood at 41.4 percent...

Economists are inclined to account for this situation by referring to the monopoly position of all our supply enterprises on the domestic market. Hence the traditional pursuit of gross output. Hence the deep-rooted disdain for the products' quality characteristics. All this is so. However, a natural question arises here: How will the new management methods and the regime of economic accountability [khozraschet], self-capitalization, and self-financing affect these processes?

If we turn to the practice of specific enterprises, it is easy to establish a simple truth: Low product **quality** is inseparably linked with collectives' low **work** standards [boldface as published]. And now, under the new management conditions, this inevitably entails financial collapse.

Take the "Uralkhimmash" Production Association (Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, Sverdlovsk). The technical services tackled extremely poorly problems such as reducing the labor-, materials-, and energy-intensiveness of output. No work at all was planned for using nonmetal materials or using production waste to manufacture products. The natural result: Deductions into the economic incentive funds last year were 29 percent (R16.2 million) less than planned. Production collectives are now paying dearly for their negligence!

Is it possible, however, to seriously maintain that the new economic mechanism has begun prompting production workers to improve the quality and technical standard of products? No. Why?

Let us once again consider the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Article 11 is devoted to scientific and technical progress and the raising of quality. It states: "The quality of the product (work, services) is the determining factor in the public assessment of the results of each labor collective's activity. (...) An enterprise sells at higher prices products whose parameters correspond to or exceed the highest world achievements. An enterprise pays for producing obsolete articles and poor-quality products by discounting wholesale prices and bears material liability and inevitable losses in the collective's economically accountable income, in wages, and in social benefits."

Superlative words. But are they borne out in practice? Did the leaders of the technical services at "Uralkhimmash," for example, where the technical standard of products is far lower than in the sector as a whole, suffer any wage cuts? Of course not. Our wages are still inviolable...

Not so long ago a sensation flew right around the world: The Soviet Union has created an aircraft fueled by liquid hydrogen and liquified natural gas (see IZVESTIYA Nos 109 and 111). This is no dream. It is reality.

So are we able to exceed world standards in our work? Yes. This example must not be regarded as an exception to the rule. It is the basic rule of our new production life.

Agricultural

Goskomstat Provides Figures on Spring Sowing

LD0505091388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has reported that by the beginning of May, spring crops had been sown in the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes on 42.1 million hectares. Cereals and pulses, excluding corn, occupy over 20.5 million hectares. The sowing of corn, rice, industrial, and other crops is underway, as is the planting of potatoes. Crop tending has begun on the cotton plantations. Meadows and pastureland are turning green and perennial grasses are growing stronger. Annual grass seeds have been planted on 3.7 million hectares. Farmers are paying special attention to expanding the area under fodder crops.

Comment on Sowing

LD0605131988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0030 GMT 6 May 88

[Excerpt] Mayak brings news from the agro-industrial complex. The hookup is conducted by commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy:

As the USSR State Statistics Committee has reported, by the beginning of May various spring crops had been sown in over 42 million hectares on the country's fields. Well, it must be said that this is, nevertheless, less than half the acreage set aside for spring crops. But that is how the sowing campaign turns out every year: During the first 2 months of sowing, approximately one-third of the spring crop acreage is sown; the remaining month, mainly May, accounts for all the main work on (?sowing) spring crops on our fields. [passage omitted]

Media Report 1-4 May Agricultural Developments

LD0505034788 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 1-4 May. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

1 May

No fileworthy items monitored.

2 May

All tillage and sowing equipment is now ready in the Moscow area. Local farmers now have more than 30,000 tractors alone. (0800)

Crimean farmers are harvesting winter crops: rape, and rye, delivering them to farms immediately, thereby increasing milk yields and animal weight gains. (1000)

The sowing of sugar beet has been completed in Kursk Oblast on about 190,000 hectares. For the first time, the seeds have been sown with the help of specially designed machines. Cultivation will not require manual labor, and the crop will be ready for harvesting a month earlier than usual.

The sowing of spring wheat in Volgograd Oblast is being completed on the first million of hectares. (1500)

Belgorod farmers start mass sowing of maize today on more than 250,000 hectares. (2000)

3 May

A total of 800,000 hectares in the Ryazan non-Chernozem Zone has been sown with spring and cereal crops, sugar beet, corn, and annual grasses. (0204)

Sowing of spring wheat, peas, sunflowers, sugar beet, and grasses is going on all at the same time in Saratov Oblast. Particular care is being taken with the most valuable hard wheat varieties. These crops will occupy over 400,000 hectares. (0600)

4 May

Mass sowing of flax has begun in Belorussia, mainly in Vitebsk Oblast, where over 60,000 hectares of land will be sown with the crop. Apart from the promising Mogilevskiy variety which produces only fibrous long-stalked flax, for the first time an early-ripening variety called Challenge [Prizyv] is to be cultivated. (0204)

In southern Uzbekistan the planting of coarse fodder has begun. (0204)

The farms of all the natural and climatic zones of the Altay have started spring sowing. Pea, barley, rape, sugar beet, and sunflower seeds are being planted in optimal periods, agronomically speaking. At the same time, areas sown to perennial grasses are being harrowed and top-dressed. Preparations are being completed for the sowing of the main food crop of the Siberian granary, spring wheat. (0800)

Mass sowing of maize has started in Belgorod Oblast. It is to occupy more than 250,000 hectares this year. (1100)

Cotton growers are finishing the sowing campaign, with seed sown on an area of over 3 million hectares, which is 1 million hectares more than a year ago; the especially valuable fine-staple strains have been sown on an area 6 percent above plan. This year the good weather has helped the campaign, but labor organization has been improved, with two-thirds of plantations being cultivated by teams and units on a collective, family, and lease basis. In contrast to previous years, they have decided to gather in the cotton themselves without the aid of students and town workers. The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, in conjunction with the Ministry of Light Industry, has drawn up a program to improve the quality of cotton fiber. With this aim, this year the area sown to strains which fully correspond to the requirements of the textile industry has been increased by 400,000 hectares. Every year the area sown to such strains will be increased, depending on the availability of seeds. Fairs have been held at which contracts have been concluded between suppliers and receivers of raw material. (1800)

Scientific

'Ekran' TV Broadcast Satellite Launched

LD0705063188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0612 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 7 May (TASS)—In accordance with the program for the further development of television broadcasting systems using artificial earth satellites, a routine Ekran television broadcasting satellite was launched in the USSR on 6 May. It has on board retransmitter apparatus providing for the broadcasting, in the decimeter waveband, of Central Television programs to a network of communal reception installations.

The Ekran satellite was put up by a Proton booster rocket into an orbit which is close to stationary and has the initial parameters:

Distance from the surface of the earth—35,620 km;

Period of rotation around the earth—23 hours 47 minutes;

Inclination of orbit—0.4 degrees.

The apparatus installed on the Ekran satellite is working normally. The command and measurement complex is implementing control of the satellite.

The exploitation of the satellite's television apparatus will be carried out in accordance with the planned program.

Cosmonauts Continue Geophysical Experiments

LD0705084988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Today, the crew of the manned Mir complex will continue geophysical experiments in accordance with the program of research of the earth's natural resources and the environment. Now, during the daytime, the station's flight is mainly taking place over the territory of the Soviet Union. This makes it possible to photograph daily extensive areas of our country, from the southwestern borders to those in the east. The filming is being conducted in accordance with tasks set by specialists in various fields of science and the national economy. Today, in particular, two series of photography are planned of southern regions of the European part of the country and the Atlantic Ocean. According to the crew's reports and telemetric data, the flight is continuing on schedule. The results of yesterday's medical check-up showed that Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are in good health.

Soviet-Bulgarian Space Crew Prepare for Flight

LD0705190288 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—Representatives of the International Childrens' Assembly, the banner of peace, from Sofia conveyed wishes of success to the Soviet-Bulgarian space crew in the star township today.

"We are in for a tense work in the month left before the launch scheduled for June 7," Aleksandr Aleksandrov, a citizen of Bulgaria and researcher cosmonaut of the main crew, said at a meeting with them. "In several days we will leave for Baykonur, the site of the last pre-start work. The talk with the children was a pleasant parting wish to me."

The main crew is headed by Anatoliy Solovyev. Besides Aleksandr Aleksandrov, it compromises also Flight Engineer Viktor Savinykh. Their back-ups are Commander of the Crew Vladimir Lyakhov, Flight Engineer Andrey Zaytsev and Researcher Cosmonaut Krasimir Stoyanov.

In Mir orbital complex they will be met by Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov. During the flight it is planned to perform 40 scientific experiments using advanced equipment developed by scientists in the USSR and Bulgaria. Among them are studies in astrophysics, remote probing of the surface of the earth, space biology and medicine.

Shatalov Views Future of Cosmonautics

LD0605155088 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 6 May 88

[Excerpts] For nearly 3 decades, man has been exploring outer space. Solid foundations for large-scale space research have been laid already. Over the past years, spacemen have learned to mount and dismantle equipment, regulate instrumentation, unload unmanned cargo craft, conduct tests and experiments, and even perform such complex materials processing operations as welding, brazing, metal cutting, and metal spray coating. Well, what about the future of Soviet cosmonautics? Construction and exploitation of orbital complexes have been and remain the main line direction in Soviet space. Spacecraft of this type, and they alone, can enable man to penetrate outer space and expand the sphere of his activity there. [passage omitted]

The head of the Cosmonauts' Training Center, Vladimir Shatalov, says more spacecraft are to take off towards the orbital laboratory in the near future. If nothing hampers our plans, says Vladimir Shatalov, we will have another module docked to the Mir station by the end of this year and yet another one within the subsequent 6 months. Next year, two more modules will be docked. The add-on apparatuses must arrive at the station without long intervals so that the orbital structure may be symmetrical. Asymmetry leads to extra fuel expenditure in keeping the large orbital compound [as heard] precisely oriented. All the modules will be put into orbit by the booster rocket Proton, the one that orbited the Mir station itself. This booster is capable of lifting 20 tonnes of cargo, and when all modules are assembled, the station will grow into a multipurpose research center in orbit with a mass of some 100 tonnes, said Vladimir Shatalov, in conclusion.

The first of the add-on modules to be launched is to make it more convenient for the crew to walk into raw space. It will be a spacious structure equipped with all the necessary instrumentation, including vehicles to help spacemen move independently in raw space. These vehicles have been nicknamed space motorbikes, which can be used when moving around to examine the station, repair satellites, or conduct possible rescue operations. The second and third modules to be docked to the orbital station will be another astrophysical laboratory and a materials processing unit. The latter, in fact, will be a space-based industrial works containing installations for obtaining extra pure alloys and crystals which cannot possibly be produced on earth because of the G-force. The subsequent module to be launched towards the Mir station will in all probability be a medical one. It will be used in conducting experiments aimed at establishing the impact of zero-gravity on the human body and how long a person can stay away from the earth with no threat to his health. It is worthy of mentioning research or industrial modules that may not necessarily be permanently docked to the Mir station. They can work also in an independent flight. Specifically, during the production of extra-pure crystals, it is desirable that the crew stay away from the industrial unit since the super-intricate processing may be hampered even by human steps. So the crew will feed all necessary components into the installations and undock the module, sending it on a free flight in orbit. As soon as the process is over, the module can be redocked to the station. Such experiments are to be carried out by Soviet scientists, specialists, and spacemen in the near future.

Shatalov Describes Soviet Space Shuttle

LD0705133488 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 7 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—Although the Soviet reusable spaceship is different from the U.S. design, their shape is similar since it is dictated by the needed aerodynamic characteristics and the same task of performing like a modern supersonic plane in the atmosphere on the way back to earth, according to a Soviet space official.

Speaking in an interview with the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY (Arguments and Facts), Vladimir Shatalov, chief of the Cosmonaut Training Center, mentioned some of the differences between the two space shuttles as well.

After reminding readers that the U.S. craft is a spaceship-booster combination which can lift payloads of up to 29.5 tons to orbit, he said:

"Our system is a package tying together the research rocket Energiya and the re-usable orbiter, but Energiya can also be used independently, without the space shuttle, to raise up to 100-ton payloads into orbit at one go."

Methods of training Soviet cosmonauts to fly re-usable vehicles differ from those used in the U.S. as well, he added.

The Soviet re-usable spaceship will probably be carrying two persons on its maiden flight, just as the U.S. space shuttle did on its test mission, Shatalov said. He stressed that the Soviet re-usable spaceship will supplement the array of Soviet launch vehicles and space stations, which will keep to be continuously upgraded. [sentence as received]

Signatories of Legasov Obituary Listed

PM0605142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of Academician Valeriy Alekseyevich Legasov]

[Excerpts] Soviet science has suffered a grave loss. Academician Valeriy Alekseyevich Legasov, an outstanding Soviet scientist—physical chemist—member of the CPSU, winner of the Lenin Prize and the USSR State Prize, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, and first deputy director of the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, died on 27 April at age 51. [passage omitted].

M.S. Gorbachev; V.I. Vorotnikov; A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov; Ye.K. Ligachev; V.P. Nikonov; N.I. Ryzhkov; N.N. Slyunkov; M.S. Solomentsev; V.M. Chebrikov; E.A. Shevardnadze; V.V. Shcherbitskiy; A.N. Yakovlev; P.N. Demichev; V.I. Dolgikh; Yu.D. Maslyukov; G.P. Razumovskiy; Yu.F. Solovyev; N.V. Talyzin; D.T. Yazov; O.D. Baklanov; A.P. Biryukova; A.F. Dobrynin; A.I. Lukyanov; V.A. Medvedev; I.V. Kapitonov; I.S. Belousov; B.L. Tolstykh; B.Ye. Shcherbina; G.I. Marchuk; V.G. Afonin; O.S. Belyakov; V.A. Grigoryev; B.M. Belousov; Yu.A. Bespalov; N.V. Lemayev; N.M. Olshanskiy; L.D. Ryabev; G.A. Yagodin; V.M. Shabanov; V.A. Kotelnikov; Ye.P. Velikhov; V.I. Ilichev; V.A. Koptyug; A.A. Logunov; G.A. Mesyats; P.N. Fedoseyev; K.V. Frolov; A.L. Yanshin; A.P. Aleksandrov; I.M. Makarov; Ye.I. Shemyakin; N.M. Zhavoronkov; A.V. Fokin; N.G. Basov; Yu.A. Buslayev; A.S. Nikiforov; R.V. Petrov; A.I. Zemskov; A.Yu. Gagarinskiy.

Briefs

Arctic Shipping

The "Pavel Ponomarev" has opened the Arctic navigation from Arkhangelsk. The "Nikel" is also preparing to leave Arkhangelsk with cargo for Franz Josef Land. [Summary] [*LD0505013888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 4 May 88*]

Military

Yazov Issues Victory Day Order 9 May

LD0905142088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Defense Minister's Order of the Day, 9 May 1988, No 170, Moscow"]

[Text] Comrade soldiers and seamen, sergeants and petty officers!

Comrade ensigns and warrant officers!

Comrade officers, generals, and admirals!

Comrade participants in the Great Patriotic War and veterans of the USSR Armed Forces!

Forty-three years ago, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the heroic Soviet people and their valiant Armed Forces secured victory in the Great Patriotic War, routed fascism, upheld the motherland's freedom and independence, brought liberation to the peoples of Europe, and opened up prospects of peace and social progress for mankind.

The memory of their contemporaries and descendants will preserve forever the immortal feats of servicemen, fighters of the people's militia, partisans, and underground fighters and the selfless labor of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia—all who, without grudging their lives, fought for victory at the front and in the rear. Honor and glory to them! The Soviet people value highly the contribution of the armies and patriots of other countries and participants in the Resistance movement and the antifascist underground to the defeat of fascism.

The holiday of the great victory is being marked during a period of revolutionary restructuring and renewal of all spheres of our society's life. Taking into account the lessons of the Great Patriotic War and acting on an objective analysis of present realities, the Soviet Union, together with the fraternal socialist countries, consistently implements the new political thinking and struggles actively for the creation of a nuclear-free, nonviolent world. The first difficult steps along this path have been taken, but reliable peace is not yet guaranteed and the threat of nuclear war has not been eliminated. Reactionary imperialist circles have not given up trying to acquire unilateral military advantages for themselves and to use force to resolve international problems. In these conditions the USSR Armed Forces, together with the armies of the Warsaw Pact states, reliably fulfill their defensive mission and watch vigilantly over socialism and the peoples' security. The present defenders of the socialist fatherland worthily continue the combat traditions of older generations and courageously fulfill their military and international duty.

In the military collectives positive processes are deepening, exactingness and efficiency are increasing, and a struggle is being waged against formalism and stagnation phenomena. The process of democratization of Army and Navy life is spreading. The preparations for the 19th all-union party conference give new impetus to improving vigilance and combat readiness and strengthening organization and discipline in the Army and Navy.

I greet and congratulate the personnel and veterans of the USSR Armed Forces and all the participants in the Great Patriotic War on the victory holiday.

To mark the 43d anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, I order:

That today, 9 May 1988, at 2200 hours local time, a festive artillery salute take place in our motherland's capital, the hero city of Moscow, the capitals of the union republics, the hero cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, the hero fortress of Brest, and also the cities of Kaliningrad, Lvov, Rostov-na-Donu, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Chita, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and Severomorsk, with 30 artillery salvos.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the battles for the freedom and independence of our motherland!

Long live the heroic Soviet people and their valiant Armed Forces!

Long live the CPSU—the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov

Akhromeyev Commemorates Victory Day

LD0905095088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0655 GMT 9 May 88

[Victory Day studio address by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear Comrades: 43 years ago, on 9 May 1945, the Soviet people and their Armed Forces led by the CPSU brought the Great Patriotic War to a victorious conclusion. In the hardest war in the entire history of our homeland, against a cruel enemy, the Soviet people won a victory of worldwide historic importance. Hitlerite fascism, that sinister product of reaction and imperialism, was smashed. The just cause of defending the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland and saving world civilization from the fascist plague, the cause for which millions of Soviet people fought and laid down their lives, triumphed.

Soviet people are proud of that victory. They will remember forever those who won it and pay a tribute of deep respect to the immortal deeds of the heroes of the people, of the front, and of the rear, of all the Soviet people.

The Great Patriotic War lasted 4 incredibly long and difficult years. It was an uncompromising class struggle between socialism and the blackest forces of imperialist reaction: a war in which the fate of our homeland, of the Soviet people, and of all mankind was decided.

Relying on the resources of an enslaved Europe and exploiting the suddenness of a treacherous attack, the foe struck a blow of enormous force against the Soviet Union. Hitler's invaders were confident they would soon succeed in smashing our army and overwhelming the land of the Soviets; that nothing could withstand the gigantic military machine they had created. They also counted on the fact that in the years that had elapsed since the civil war we had not been able to do all that was necessary, although we had done a great deal, and possibly all that was humanly possible, for the defense of our country. In launching their aggression they also took into account the huge and irreplaceable losses suffered by the Red Army and Navy in their supreme and senior command as a result of the repressions at the end of the thirties associated with the cult of personality and the illegal acts of Stalin. The Hitlerites also counted on the isolation of the Soviet Union and the mounting of a crusade against our homeland.

Of course, 1941 was for us a hard and tragic year. At the beginning of the war our troops suffered a number of defeats. They were forced to retreat and abandon their native towns and villages to the enemy. Tens of millions of Soviet people found themselves under fascist occupation. Yet even these shocks did not shake the morale of the Soviet people or their confidence of final victory.

The Soviet soldiers came to manhood in the crucible of war. The skill of the commanders, senior officers, and political workers increased.

The turning point of the war began with the battle near Moscow. At the end of 1941 the myth of the invincibility of the fascist army was here dispelled, and Hitler's plan for a blitzkrieg was buried. The enemy was forced to adopt the strategy of a so-called stagewise conduct of the war, with strikes in separate directions. But that strategy too suffered defeat. The attack mounted by an elite group of fascist troops in the south of our country in the summer of 1942 failed. Having drained the enemy of blood, the Soviet troops mounted a counterattack and inflicted a devastating defeat on the enemy. The enemy's total losses in the Battle of Stalingrad were 1.5 million. Hitler's military machine was shattered to its foundations. The Hitlerite command made a last attempt to alter the course of the war in its favor in the summer of 1943 near Kursk. But its strike groups were smashed and the strategic initiative passed fully into the hands of the Soviet military command. The radical turning point in the Great Patriotic War and of all World War II was accomplished. The mass expulsion of the enemy from Soviet soil began.

In the major operations that followed the Soviet Armed Forces defeated and destroyed the enemy and liberated Belorussia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic. Then in fulfillment of their international duty they brought freedom to the peoples of Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and many other European states. They carried military operations into the territory of fascist Germany and, together with the allied armies, forced its unconditional surrender.

Victory over Hitler's Germany and its satellites was won by the joint efforts of the states and peoples of many countries. Heroic in their fight with the enemy were the partisan armies of Yugoslavia, the armies of partisans of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania; the combat units of Hungary and Albania; and the members of the resistance movements and antifascist underground.

The organizer and soul of all the deeds of battle and achievements of labor was the Leninist Communist Party. In the war it was a fighting party; at the front and in the rear it acted as the militant, mobilizing, and directing force. It led the armed struggle and united and inspired the mass of the people for the struggle against the enemy. This was one of the main conditions of our great victory.

With the passage of time the historical lessons of that victory are becoming increasingly visible, and the main lesson is that one must fight against war before it begins. This is perfectly obvious today in the nuclear space age, when weapons capable of annihilating all life on earth have been created. Steadfastly following the Leninist course of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union is working for a lessening of international tension, for greater international cooperation and for the prevention of a new war. Acting in the spirit of the new thinking, we are persistently working for an end to the arms race. Our policy of peace is enshrined in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and in the program of nuclear disarmament and is embodied in the Soviet state's peace initiative.

The signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was a major event. That treaty cleared the way to the talks now being conducted on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, while adhering to the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. The prospect is appearing of talks on substantial reductions of armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. These are all complex and extremely difficult problems; if they are to be solved, political will, realism in evaluating what is happening in the world, and great effort on both sides are essential. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries have proposed specific measures. To reduce the danger of a sudden attack the Warsaw Pact states have pledged under no circumstances to use nuclear weapons and never to be the first to begin military actions, and they have submitted a proposal to create a zone of reduced concentration of armaments. At present there is still approximate equality in armed forces and conventional weapons between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO bloc in Europe. This is confirmed by many authoritative Western representatives. It is true that we have more tanks, but the NATO side has superiority in the number of tactical aviation strike aircraft, combat helicopters, and antitank weapons. The Soviet Union has stated that it is willing to eliminate existing imbalances. We are willing to eliminate the number of tanks we have in excess, but at the same time the NATO bloc countries must correspondingly eliminate their excess strike aircraft. The NATO bloc states, however, are shying away from this. They would like a unilateral reduction by the Warsaw Pact and refuse to agree to the elimination of those types of weapons in which their side possesses superiority.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of our party's Central Committee, points out that as long as the danger of war persists and as long as social revenge remains at the heart of the West's strategy and militaristic programs we will continue to do everything necessary to maintain our defense capacity at a level that rules out the military superiority of militarism over socialism. The Soviet Armed Forces are maintained in constant readiness to repel any possible aggression by the enemy and to repulse any foe. Like the entire country they are now living in the spirit of restructuring. All the components of restructuring—overcoming the stagnation phenomena the policy of acceleration, of revolutionary renewal, of democratization and the expansion of glasnost—have a direct bearing on the Army and the Navy. But the Armed Forces also have their own particular part of the restructuring, a part which is characteristic of them alone and which is connected, above all, with the practical fulfillment of the demands of Soviet defensive military doctrine in the sphere of strategy, operational skill and tactics, in refining the organizational structure, and in training and educating the troops. This task forms the core of the restructuring, life and activity of the troops and the navy. Soviet servicemen have a deep understanding and awareness of their absolute responsibility for ensuring peace and the reliable defense of the motherland and the entire community of allied socialist states. With a feeling of having fulfilled its internationalist duty the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is preparing to return home. Soviet servicemen everywhere demonstrate their noble characteristics, Soviet patriotism, and lofty moral and combat qualities.

Today the sons, and even the grandsons, of those who participated in the Great Patriotic War are serving in the combat ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces. Continuing their glorious combat traditions and maintaining loyalty to their people, the Communist Party, and the Soviet Government, they are vigilantly protecting the Soviet people's peaceful labor and together with the servicemen of the fraternal Warsaw Pact countries are vigilantly standing guard over peace and socialism.

Congratulations on the holiday, on Victory Day, dear comrades! Thank you for your attention.